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ACCOUNT
OF THE
TONGA ISLANDS.

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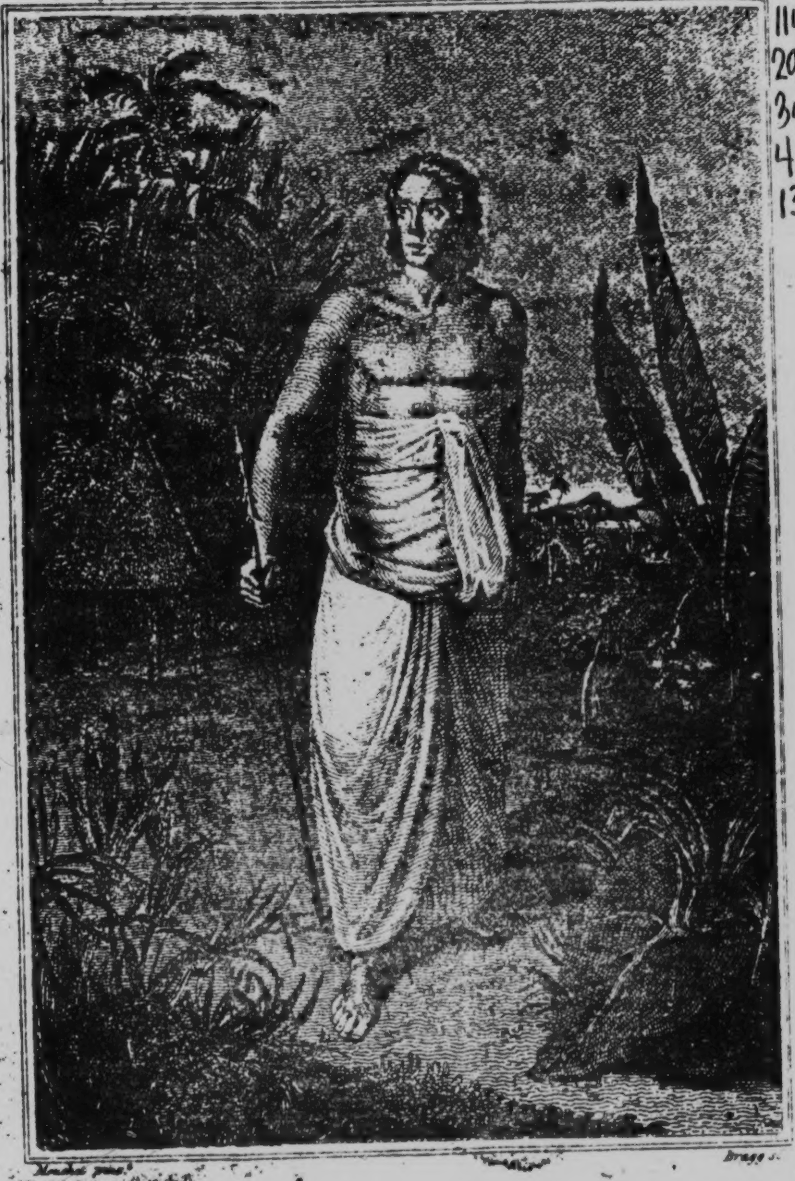

Mouchet pinx.

Bragg s.

Mr. MARINER in the COSTUME of the TONGA ISLANDS.

[facing p. iii]

London. Published Feb. 2. 1818. by J. Murray Albemarle Street.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE NATIVES
OF THE
TONGA ISLANDS,
IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN.
WITH
AN ORIGINAL GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY
OF
THEIR LANGUAGE.

COMPILED AND ARRANGED FROM THE EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS OF
MR. WILLIAM MARINER,
SEVERAL YEARS RESIDENT IN THOSE ISLANDS.

BY JOHN MARTIN, M. D.

> "The savages of America inspire less interest .... since celebrated navigators "have made known to us the inhabitants of the islands of the South Sea .... The "state of half-civilization in which those islanders are found gives a peculiar "charm to the description of their manners .... Such pictures, no doubt, have "more attraction than those which pourtray the solemn gravity of the inhabitant "of the banks of the Missouri or the Maranon."
>
> *Preface to Humboldt's Personal Narrative.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1818.

[p. iii]
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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART. G.C.B.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c. &c.

THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT

OF THE

NATIVES OF THE TONGA ISLANDS,

IN WHICH IT IS ATTEMPTED PARTICULARLY TO SET FORTH

THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION,

AND LANGUAGE,

FROM THE ORAL DESCRIPTIONS OF AN ENGLISHMAN

LONG RESIDENT THERE,

IS MOST WILLINGLY INSCRIBED

AS A SMALL, YET APPROPRIATE TRIBUTE

OF RESPECT,

BY

HIS VERY OBEDIENT AND

DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN MARTIN.

[p. v]
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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE flattering reception with which the present work has already been honoured by a liberal public, and the appearance of a French translation of it at Paris, in November last, are convincing proofs of the interest, at least, which the subject has excited. Whilst preparing this second edition, it has been my good fortune to meet with an additional weight of testimony in favour of the facts related; and not to detain the reader with unnecessary matter, I shall at once lay open the source of this new proof of the strict fidelity of Mr. Mariner's representations. Jeremiah Higgins, 114

[p. vii]

a young man belonging to the crew of the 114 Port au Prince*, made his escape from the Tonga Islands about thirteen months before Mr. Mariner, that is to say, after a residence there of two years and eleven months. Being very young, he was one of the first who acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language; he practised their dances, and learned their songs;—and although he had not the advantage of those better opportunities which fell in Mr. Mariner's way, and consequently is not so intimately acquainted, in certain points of view, with the political sentiments, and moral notions and habits especially of the higher classes of the natives, which the superior education of the latter, as well as his relative condition among the Tonga chiefs, rendered him more apt to acquire;—still, the information obtained from Higgins must undoubtedly be considered valuable, if only regarded as generally corroborative, and in a few instances somewhat corrective of Mr. Mariner's statements.

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* He served on board this vessel in the capacity of what is technically termed a landsman, and was then about fifteen or sixteen years of age.

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For three or four years (until December last) Jeremiah resided with his father, an old inhabitant of the town of Aylesbury, a man well known, and much respected; and in the employ of many farmers in the county as a hay-binder. Some time after the publication of the first edition of the present work, a copy was sent to Jeremiah, with a request, that he would particularly remark and make a memorandum of whatever he conceived not to be correctly stated. In the month of November last, Mr. Higgins, the father, happening to be in town upon some business, called to inform me, that his son had been exceedingly pleased with the perusal of the work, particularly as it served to corroborate many things which he had previously related to his friends and neighbours, and to which he had reason to think they did not always give the credit that was due; insomuch that he began to be heartily tired of answering their numerous inquiries. Among those to whom he had given the most information prior to the publication of the work was Mr. T. Woodman, a very respectable and intelligent farmer, residing at Stone, near Aylesbury. As this gentleman had also read the book, I wrote to him to request the favour of his sentiments, with regard to the two unconnected sources of information, which had fallen in his way. From the answer which he obligingly sent me, dated Stone, 4th December, 1817, I beg leave to extract the following paragraph, as bearing immediately upon the subject.

" I most certainly have many times, be-" fore your publication appeared in the " world, asked Jeremiah Higgins many " questions respecting the inhabitants of " the Tonga islands; but as he is a " young man of a reserved disposition, the " communications he made were always " desultory, unconnected, and confined. " Yet I cannot have the least doubt, or the " least hesitation in saying, that in the ac-" counts he gave, he spoke of the very " same people, and of the very same inci-" dents, which are related by Mr. Mariner, " in the work you have recently publish-

" ed. He spoke to me of the capture of 114
" the vessel he sailed in: of the siege and " reduction of the Tonga great fortress: of " the effects of the great guns: of the panic and consternation thence produced: " of their religious and political convocations, &c. &c., which are events so " exactly detailed and portrayed in the " work you have given, that I find not the " least difference between the one and the " other, save that the accounts given by " Mr. Mariner are more amplified, and " better arranged in bearing reference to " the religious and political proceedings " relating to their society."

That no source of information or of satisfactory proof might be left untried, I engaged Jeremiah Higgins to come up to town, and now it was, for the first time, that he and Mr. Mariner met, since their separation at the Tonga islands. He remained with me till the latter end of December, and I had abundant reason to be satisfied with the accordance between his several statements, extracted from him by various questions, and those which I had

formerly received from Mr. Mariner. 114
When they spoke the Tonga language together, I noticed the similarity of their pronunciation and accent: when Higgins sang and exhibited some Tonga dances in presence of several of my friends, whilst Mr. Mariner also sang and beat time according to the native method *, we were struck with the accuracy of the description of these amusements in the "voyages of Captain Cook." But to be brief, however satisfied I have hitherto been with Mr. Mariner's details, I issue this second

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* To give greater effect to the scene, Mr. Mariner was [291]
dressed as represented in the frontispiece, and Higgins's only apparel was a sort of circular apron, made of loose strips of matting very thickly set, and at the top plaited so as to form a band round the lower waist, (the pelvis) from which the strips hung down nearly to the knees: this was to represent the apron of the leaves of the *chi* tree, used by the natives on such occasions. He had also a wreath of artificial flowers round the head, and another round the neck. He is [304]
beautifully tattowed from the hips nearly to the knees, agreeably to the custom of the Tonga people. Upon them it appears of a black colour, but upon a white man it causes the skin to resemble soft blue satin. The neatness, and I might almost say, the mathematical precision with which the pattern is executed, far surpasses the expectation of all who see it for the first time.

edition with a twofold confidence, for now I can assure the candid reader that, endeavouring to divest my mind of all prejudices, I have carefully and assiduously questioned Jeremiah Higgins, at various times, with regard to the events at the Tonga islands while he was there, and the manners and customs of the people, and have always found his answers (though for obvious reasons somewhat more confined) yet so consonant and agreeable, as far as they went, with Mr. Mariner's accounts, that I feel quite certain of the truth of the great outlines of the matter contained in the following sheets, and the highest degree of confidence in all the details. Such is the additional testimony which the present work has obtained, and I flatter myself that I have used all the means within my reach to render it, if possible, worthy of the honour which public approbation has already bestowed upon it. 114

A complete account of all the different 000 tribes inhabiting the islands of the Pacific Ocean would no doubt form a most interesting portion of human history, and

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supply, in a great measure, the history of the earlier ages of mankind, so much obscured as they are by romance and fabulous traditions. The infancy of human society in our times probably differs not much, except in local circumstances, from that which existed four thousand years ago:—by a scrupulous and attentive examination of the *present*, therefore, we may be able to form some tolerable judgment of the *past*. And this is not, I apprehend, a matter of idle curiosity or of useless knowledge, as some have the presumption to cry out;—for all that regards man, whether it be good or evil, is highly interesting to man;—the good, that we may either adopt or improve;—the evil, that we may either avoid or remedy:—and as the history of the human individual cannot be perfectly understood, without examining him in his infancy,—so a true knowledge of the species in a state of society is not to be thoroughly and easily acquired, without a suitable investigation into the incipient stages of the social compact; for there it is that the passions of man are

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more openly and strongly developed,—his imaginations and prejudices less concealed by artificial coverings,—and his actions, generally speaking, under much less restraint. Moreover, as the education of children ought, in one point of view, to be chiefly founded upon a knowledge of their notions and habits, so ought all attempts at civilization (which is only another kind of education) to be built upon our acquaintance with the customs and modes of thinking of the people on whom we wish to superinduce new trains of habits and sentiments,—so that we may educate or lead them out of bad into better,—out of imperfection towards perfection. It is in morals much the same as in physics; if we wish to alter the qualities of a substance, we must first examine what those qualities are, that we may see in what way they are best capable of being changed. It is true, by hard labour with the hammer, we may bend a piece of cold iron; but observation and experience teach us, that at a high temperature this metal becomes so soft, that we can fashion it as we please.

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With regard to the Society islands, where missionaries have so long established themselves, we have not yet an intimate, and what may be called a domestic history of the people: this, I think, is much to be regretted: if it be not already too late, it will perhaps be so in a few years, when their native customs and notions will become so mingled with what is European, that little profitable knowledge will be derivable from them. In New Zealand, a novel and interesting scene lies open; the church missionary society have there set on foot their benevolent purposes. They begin by educating the children, and teaching their parents the mechanic arts; —but it is to be hoped that the civilized New Zealander, hereafter to be born, will have within his reach the authentic records of what his ancestors once were, that he may know the extent of his obligations to those of his fellow men who were the means of leading his forefathers out of the darkness of superstition, and out of the house of bondage.

In referring to the "Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, by John Liddiard Nicholas, Esq." it must be acknowledged, that much credit is certainly due to the author, who, in a short visit of a few weeks, has been able to collect such a mass of interesting matter. Mr. Nicholas informs us, that "as Mr. Kendall" (one of the missionaries) "is applying himself "strictly to the study of the New Zealand "language, it is probable he will furnish "us in some time with a copious and en-"larged account of it." While this is doing, it is to be hoped that the other parts of the history of the New Zealand intellect, as it is developed in their customs, laws, and superstitions, will not be forgotten.

27, Basinghall Street,
4th March, 1818.

J. MARTIN.

[p. xviii. is blank]

INTRODUCTION.

THE cluster of islands in the South Pacific |0| Ocean, whose inhabitants constitute the subject of the present work, is that to which Captain Cook gave the epithet "Friendly:" his chart of the Friendly * Islands however does not include Vavaoo, which he did not visit; and as this island is the largest, and now comparatively the most important of all those belonging to the same archipelago, which, in his time, were under the same government, and still speak precisely the same language, and follow the same customs, we have thought it expedient to denote them all by one common name, which the natives them-

* He gave them this name on account of the apparent amicable disposition of the natives towards him; but in reality their intention was to massacre him and his friends, and take the two ships, as they did afterwards the Port au Prince. See Vol. II. p. 60.

[p. xix]

selves give them, viz. "Tonga," or, the Tonga Islands*. 101

As I presume it would be unnecessary to offer any apologies for presenting to the public the following account of a people, of whose government, religion, customs, and language, so little has hitherto been published†, I shall proceed at once to give a simple statement of the circumstances which first gave rise to it, and the authority under which it has been conducted. 114

In the year 1811 I accidentally heard that Mr. William Mariner, the bearer of a letter from the East Indies to one of my connections in London, had been a re-

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* These islands, therefore, consist of the island of Tonga, which gives name to the whole, the cluster called the Hapai islands, and the island of Vavaoo. See the Map.

† The accounts of circumnavigators are imperfect by reason of the shortness of their stay; of these, however, Captain Cook's is the most accurate. The missionaries might have furnished us with more intimate details, but their accounts relate rather to the history of their mission than that of the natives. One of them, an anonymous writer, in a small volume entitled, "A Four Years Residence at Tongataboo," gives a very imperfect account of the people, himself being the chief subject of his narrative.

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sident at the Friendly-Islands during the space of four years; and, my curiosity being strongly excited, I solicited his acquaintance. In the course of three or four interviews I discovered, with much satisfaction, that the information he was able to communicate respecting the people with whom he had been so long and so intimately associated was very far superior to any thing that had yet appeared before the public. His answers to several inquiries, regarding their religion, government, and habits of life, were given with that kind of unassuming confidence which bespeaks a thorough intimacy with the subject, and carries with it the conviction of truth:—in fact, having been thrown upon those islands at an early age, his young and flexible mind had so accorded itself with the habits and circumstances of the natives, that he could not feel any disposition to overrate or embellish what to him was neither strange nor new. To my inquiries respecting his intentions of publishing, he replied, that having necessarily been, for several years, out of the habit

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either of writing or reading, or of that turn of thinking requisite for composition and arrangement, he was apprehensive his endeavours would fail in doing that justice to the work which I seemed to think its importance demanded: he modestly proposed, however, to submit the subject to my consideration for a future opportunity. In the mean while circumstances called him away to the West Indies: on his return he brought me memoranda of the principal events at the Tonga islands, in the order in which they had happened during his residence there, together with a description of the most important religious ceremonies, and a vocabulary of about four or five hundred words. The inspection of these materials served greatly to increase the interest which I had already taken in the matter, and I urged the necessity of committing the whole to paper while every thing remained fresh in his memory. To facilitate this object, I proposed to undertake the composition and arrangement of the intended work, whilst Mr. Mariner should direct his view solely to noting

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down all that he had seen and heard as his 114 memory might spontaneously furnish it, in order that these materials might afterwards be made, from time to time, subjects of conversation, strict scrutiny, amplification, arrangement and composition. Not one of the ensuing pages has therefore been written without Mr. Mariner's presence, that he might be consulted in regard to every little circumstance or observation that could in the smallest degree affect the truth of the subject under consideration: and, in this way, it is presumed that a great deal more useful and interesting matter has been elicited than would probably have occurred to him through the medium of his own unassisted reflections; for conversation calls to mind many things that would otherwise have escaped the memory, it constantly demands elucidations; one idea gives birth to another, until the whole subject lies completely unfolded to the mind.

With regard to arrangement: in the 128 first place is related an account of the 126 voyage of the Port au Prince, it being

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esteemed sufficiently interesting, as it involves a combination of untoward circumstances that led ultimately to the destruction of the ship: the whole of this has been faithfully composed from a journal kept by Mr. Mariner on board. Next follows a narrative, or rather, as it may be termed, a historical account, of all the important and interesting events that occurred during his stay at the Tonga Islands; not merely as they regarded himself, but with an aspect to the different changes, religious and political, since they affected, in a most important manner, the situation of public affairs: and that this portion of the work may be better understood, a comparison is drawn between the state of these islands upon Mr. Mariner's arrival, and that in which Captain Cook had previously found them; in doing which the revolution of Tonga *, and other important and highly interesting events which had taken place in the mean while, are given according to the account of the

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[126]
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* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that this event took place in May, 1799.

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principal natives of divers parties, who 128 had been eye-witnesses. The narration of [669] events being brought down to the period of Mr. Mariner's fortunate escape *, the remainder of the work furnishes a more intimate detail of the state of society in regard to rank and professions; their religious and political government; the names and attributes of their principal gods; their notions of the human soul, and of a future state of existence; an investigation of their moral principles, and of their state of morals; a description of their most important religious ceremonies; an account of the healing art, with a detail of some important surgical operations practised by them; a description of their principal manufactures; their games and amusements; music, songs, &c.; and, lastly, a grammar of their language, and a vocabulary to the

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* The term escape is here used with propriety, for although Mr. M. was well treated, and had every thing that [609] he could *there* want, the opportunities of returning home [727] were very rare, and when he was about to profit from one that presented itself, his intention was opposed, and he was under the necessity of destroying one of the natives to accomplish his purpose.

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128 extent of above two thousand genuine Tonga words.

122 As it will, no doubt, be satisfactory to 128 the reader to know how the rules and 104 idioms of this heretofore unwritten language have been investigated, it is proper to state that Mr. Mariner carefully selected out of an English dictionary all those words to which he could find appropriate Tonga words, or well adapted phrases; and having myself assiduously attended to the elementary sounds of the language, and determined upon a plan of orthography, I undertook the charge of arranging all the Tonga words alphabetically, by which means my ear and eye became accustomed to them, and several were stored up in my memery. In the mean while Mr. Mariner wrote down several dialogues and popular tales in the Tonga language; and I afterwards exercised myself, with his assistance, and that of the vocabulary, in making literal translations to them, and thus became acquainted, more or less, with the idiom; and, at the same time, I had the opportunity of furnishing the Tonga

part of the vocabulary, from the dialogues 122
and tales, with other words. In the next 128
place, having written down sundry examples 104
in English, illustrative of every part [197]
of speech, in a variety of forms, and upon a variety of subjects, I gave them to Mr. Mariner to translate into Tonga, according to the strict idiom of that language: by this method we began to perceive what could be translated, and what could not; we discovered where the Tonga language was poor in expression, and where it was more richly endowed; what were the fundamental principles of construction, and what the particular idioms and exceptions to the general rules:—and thus proceeding, step by step, the character and genius of the language were unfolded; and, at length, we arrived at that degree of theoretical knowledge of the structure of it which is now, for the first time, presented to the public.

Every attempt to afford accurate information 000
respecting the manners, customs, and sentiments of any portion of the human species, cannot but be considered, in

000 these enlightened days, at least a laudable undertaking; but to bestow much time and pains upon an investigation of the principles of a barbarous language, like the one in question, will, no doubt, in the eyes of many persons, appear more curious than useful; and how far such a view of the subject may be correct, every reader will judge for himself; to me it appears almost as great a deficiency in the history of a nation to overlook the structure of its language, as to neglect any portion of its
122 moral or political character. In taking,
144 for example, the Tonga people, Mr. Mari-
121 ner could only arrive at a thorough knowledge of their religious, political, and moral character, and the spirit of their religious and political sentiments, through the medium of their language, for all accounts that had been given of them were little better than bare descriptions of outside appearances, every thing else, for want of this same medium, being founded in mere conjecture: so it is easy for a traveller to give an accurate description of the outside of a building, to which he has no admit-

tance, and make some rude guess as to its 122
interior form; but the object of the pre- 114
sent work is chiefly to describe the inside 121
of this structure, that the reader may see the form, dimensions, ornaments, and general merit of its various passages and apartments, to which the Tonga language is in this instance the master-key, and is here offered to all whom accident or design may lead to the same spot, that they may make the same researches in much less time, and with much less hazard and difficulty, than it originally cost the first investigator: and it certainly must be considered some proof of the uprightness of Mr. Mariner's intentions, and of his consciousness of the accuracy of his details, that he readily consents to put into the hands of others the easiest method in his power of satisfying themselves of the truth of what is told them.

There are other points of view, in which, 121
I think, the importance of this subject may be seen: a knowledge of the language helps to throw a considerable light in the path of those who choose to investi-

121 gate the origin of the people, or how far they may be related to other nations of the same immense ocean. In regard to the philologist, it will help his inquiries into the theory of human language generally; and in respect of the metaphysician, he will not be displeased if we offer to his notice the structure of a language which has advanced in its progress up to the present time, among a people who have no conception of any method of noting down their ideas, and yet pride themselves upon the uniform accuracy with which they speak and pronounce their language. There is, moreover, another class of readers, who will by no means regret that this subject has been thus far investigated; I mean those who take a laudable pleasure in looking forward to the civilization and religious instruction of savage nations, to effect which in the most rational manner is certainly to speak to them in their own language*;—and to

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[797] * The king and several other chiefs at the Tonga islands appeared quite surprised when Mr. Mariner informed them

construct a dictionary and grammar of it, 121
and teach them to read it, is to do more for them than themselves could effect in many centuries. Lastly, I must beg leave to observe that it is not every European, whom accident or design may station in those islands for a few years, that can learn their language with accuracy; for the idiom is so different from our civilized and more artificial forms of speech, that it must be chiefly young persons, with minds very susceptible of the impressions of spoken language, and of the gestures accompanying it, that can readily accomplish this object without the assistance of an interpreter:—and as Mr. Mariner had acquired this under circumstances peculiarly favourable, it appeared to me paramount to a duty to use those means that lay in my power to prevent all that he had learnt in this respect from sinking for ever into oblivion.

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that the object of the missionaries had been to instruct them 121
in the religion of the white people: they had thought that 197
the latter came to live among them merely from choice, as liking the climate better than their own.

114 As it is a matter of the highest importance that Mr. Mariner's qualifications as a narrator of what he had seen and heard should be known to the public, in order that a proper judgment may be formed of the degree of credit to be attached to the present volumes, I shall here give a short account of his education and of his habits, as far as they may bear more or less upon the subject in question.

His father, Mr. Magnus Mariner, who is still living*, was formerly the owner of a hired armed vessel, of which he was also the commander, and served in this capacity under Lord Cornwallis, in the American war. About that period, having sustained some severe losses in the American trade, he returned to England, married, and resided in London. He has had several children, the second of whom is William, the subject of our present memoir, who was born at Highbury Place, Islington, September 10, 1791. At an early age his father sent him to Mr. Mitchel's

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* Resident at No. 14, Johnson Street, Commercial Road.

Academy, at Ware, in Hertfordshire. After remaining there five or six years, with the exception of the vacations, he returned home at the age of thirteen, in consequence of the death of Mr. Mitchel. The advantages he had already derived from his education were considerable: besides the common acquisitions of reading, writing, and arithmetic, he had made much progress in his knowledge of history, geography, and the French language, and also some advance in the first rudiments of the Latin. His father being of opinion that his education was already sufficient for the line of life he meant him to pursue, *i. e.* the sea, resolved to keep him at home till something suitable and advantageous should offer. William, however, was not very anxious for a mere maritime life, and his mother being wholly averse to it, his father was at length dissuaded from his intention, and placed him in the office of a friend of his, Mr. Harrison *, a respectable attorney, with whom he was to remain a few months previous to articles being

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* Late of Burr Street, Aldgate.

114 signed. Six weeks had scarcely elapsed before an event happened, which, though trifling enough in itself, served to make a complete change in his future prospects.

Captain Duck, who had formerly served his apprenticeship to William's father, was about to sail in the Port au Prince private ship of war *, belonging to Mr. Robert Bent†, of London. This vessel had a twofold commission; if not very successful in her cruize for prizes within certain latitudes, she was to double Cape Horn, and proceed into the Pacific Ocean in search of whales. Captain Duck before his departure came to take leave of William's father: after dinner, the conversation naturally turned upon the ensuing voyage, when Captain Duck, who was a man of very sanguine expectations, spoke with great confidence of speedy success and an early return, and gave such flattering descriptions of that mode of life, that William was quickly possessed with the

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* Of nearly 500 tons, 96 men, and mounting 24 long nine and twelve pounders, besides 8 twelve pound carronades on the quarter-deck.

† Now of West Moulsey, near Hampton-Court.

strongest desire to accompany him. Captain Duck offered him the greatest encouragements, and the consent of his father being obtained, he took him on board in a few days, under his immediate protection. The events of the voyage, and other particulars subsequent thereto, will be seen hereafter. During that time he acted in the capacity of captain's clerk, which though not an usual office on board a privateer, he chose for the sake of employment.

Such simply is an account of his education, and of those early circumstances which laid the groundwork for future and more extraordinary events. With respect to his character, I may from good authority give some account of him while yet at school *. At this early period he shewed evident proofs of a mind very susceptible of external impressions, disposed to activity and

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* The authority I here speak of is my friend Mr. Whiston Bristow. This gentleman accidentally called one evening at my house, when Mr. Mariner was entertaining the author of " The Farmer's Boy" with some account of his travels. Mr. Bristow had scarcely taken his seat, when Mr. Mariner recognised him to be an old school-fellow, and most inti-

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fond of information; whilst from his habits and sentiments one would suppose him fitted for a life of change and adventure. He was fond of books of travels, and he used often to say how much he should like to live among savages and meet with strange occurrences; a disposition not uncommon among some young minds, but which those who are fond of presentiments will readily account for, in their own way. His sports and amusements were frequently those of an active, adventurous, and sometimes of a daring kind. With respect to the dispositions of his heart, suffice it to say, they are such as do him much honour.

The subsequent events of his life have made a considerable change in his personal character and external habits, insomuch that I have heard it observed by those of his friends who knew him formerly, that they could scarcely recognise him to be the same person. His love of

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mate associate. It need scarcely be added, that this event gave additional interest to his recital, and furnished me with the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Mariner's character. This happened in the early part of my acquaintance with him.

adventure has changed into a sedateness of character and disposition to rest and quiet, which may easily be conceived to arise from disappointments, and unexpected hardships and dangers, experienced at too early a period of life. He is rather taciturn than loquacious, and under ordinary circumstances much more inclined to speak of the events of his life as common occurrences than as interesting anecdotes, which happens no doubt from his early, frequent, and familiar intimacy with unusual situations; when, however, he is animated with social converse, he furnishes descriptions that are very interesting and natural. His memory is very retentive, and his account of things is exceedingly correct and uniform: of this I have had numberless proofs, and one in particular I shall mention. I happened to mislay the English version which he had written out at his leisure, of the speech of Finow the king on first coming into power: after the lapse of a few weeks, not finding it, I was under the necessity of requesting him to write another, which he did in the same method as before, by call-

ing to his mind the original Tonga in which 114
it was spoken. Sometime afterwards I
found the first, and was much pleased to 114
discover so little difference between them, 128
that they appeared almost like copies,
which sufficiently evinced the correctness
with which he remembered the original
Tonga, and at the same time furnished an
instance of the characteristic uniformity of
his expression in his own language. Two
or three months afterwards I reminded him
of the propriety of writing down in the
Tonga language all that he knew of their
popular tales, speeches, songs, &c. while
they were fresh in his memory; he did so,
and at a subsequent period when the dictionary
of the language was in a state of
forwardness, I translated them literally
with his occasional assistance, and had a
new proof of the correctness, as to sense,
of what he had before given me of Finow's
speech, the English copies of which I had
all along kept in my possession. As a retentive 114
memory was a quality particularly
essential to Mr. Mariner, under the circumstances
in which he was placed, it is
worth mentioning, that even when I be-

came first acquainted with him he was able to read and translate French with considerable ease and fluency, although he had scarcely seen a French book, or spoken French since he had left school, a period of nearly eight years, during four of which he had resided among an uncivilized people, and had been constantly practising their language. But, however excellent may be his memory, it would avail but little, if he had only seen a great deal without noticing much; I am very happy therefore to have it in my power to give some decided proofs that he possesses also that very valuable quality in a traveller, a spirit of observation.

Early in the month of May last, "Campbell's Voyage round the World" was published at Edinburgh, a considerable portion of which work is occupied in describing the manners and customs of the Sandwich islands, where the author resided about thirteen months. At the period of this publication, the greater part of the following sheets was already printed off, at least as far as the grammar. On perusing Mr. Campbell's interesting book, I was not a little gratified to find confirmations of 114 some things related by Mr. Mariner respecting those islands, which as he had only been there about three weeks, furnished me with additional proofs, if more were wanting, of his scrupulous accuracy and attention. Having put the book into 000 his hands to peruse, he soon returned it to me, with the substance of the following observations: from which it will appear, that notwithstanding his short stay at those islands, he had made good use of his time, and that afterwards he did not neglect to obtain confirmations of what he had learnt, and farther information from a few natives of the Sandwich islands who were with him at Tonga; insomuch that he is enabled to state some things in the way of explanation which the before-mentioned work does not contain. I shall mention the different subjects in the order in which they occur in Mr. Campbell's book, paging them accordingly; and if that author, or his editor, Mr. Smith, sees any thing in Mr. Mariner's statements which he knows or believes to be incorrect, he will perhaps take an opportunity of stating his objections.

Page 123. The chief named "*Crymakoo*" Mr. Mariner was very well acquainted with: his name, as pronounced by some of the natives, is Cáramacoó. The reason of the indecision in regard to the pronunciation of Sandwich island words will be given below.

P. 126. "*Provisions were abundant*" at *Mowee*, "*and much cheaper than either at Owhyhee or Wahoo:*" this, Mr. Mariner was informed, was occasioned by that island being much less frequented with shipping, and because few great chiefs lived there.

P. 128. *It is "a great object of ambition among the higher ranks to have white people to reside with them."* The king very strongly solicited Mr. Mariner to remain with him and be his secretary.

P. 140. The author, in this page, speaks of the narrow-minded principle of the white residents, who would not teach the natives how to read or to make looms, under the idea of losing their esteem by rendering themselves less necessary to them. Mr. Mariner had often occasion to remark the truth of this, and several

000 times heard this maxim of the white people, "not to teach the natives more than was sufficient to gain themselves a good footing."

P. 142. The chief here called "*Terremytee*" Mr. Mariner was also well acquainted with: his name, according to our system of orthography, (see the grammar), is 'Térremyty'; the two *ys* being pronounced like our *i* in kite, sight; but the first is light and the last heavy.

P. 146. William Stevenson here mentioned was the father of the child whom the Port au Prince brought to the Tonga islands, and of whom an account is given in the present work, Vol. II. p. 72.

P. 149. Captain Vancouver's promise to the king of the Sandwich islands is here noticed: Mr. Mariner several times heard the king speak of it, and always in a way that shewed he had placed much confidence in it. The king's name, here spelt "*Tamaahmaah*," is pronounced by Mr. Mariner, and is expressed by our orthography Támmeahméha; the first aspirate following the *a* and the latter preceding it.

The editor, Mr. Smith, in note, p. 210, remarks the different modes of spelling and pronouncing this name, employed by different travellers, and that the C and the T are scarcely to be distinguished in the pronunciation of the language. The fact is, there are few of the natives but who have lost some of their front teeth, owing to an absurd custom of knocking them out as a sacrifice, for much the same purpose as the Tonga people cut off their little fingers: the consequence is, that their pronunciation, to the ears of a foreigner, is exceedingly indistinct: they often confound the *r* and the *l*, possibly from this cause; but their indiscriminate use of the hard *c* and the *t*, Mr. Mariner is convinced, arises from this source; for instance, their word for "*England*," and for "country *foreign*," as given by Mr. Campbell, is "*Kaheite*," or "*Caheite*;" but which properly should be Taheite, and is taken from the island of that name, which we call Otaheite; and why this word Taheite has been adopted to designate foreign countries generally, and England particularly, I conceive to be

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000 because Captain Cook and his people were
the first strangers, and consequently the
first Englishmen they recollect to have
seen, and who had come lately from Otaheite:
hence, Taheite (or Caheite, as they
who are too sensible of the inconvenience
of wanting teeth call it), very naturally at
first signified the land whence Englishmen
come; but at length, understanding there
were many other countries in the world,
they adopted this word as a general name
for any foreign land. The more proper
word for *England*, which the best informed
among them use, is *Pritánë*, from Britain.
The phrase which Mr. Campbell uses for
an *Otaheitan* is "*Kanaka* boolla-boolla,"
which should be properly Tanata Bolabola,
and does not signify literally *a man
of Otaheite*, but a man of Bola-bola, which
is the last of the Society islands which
Captain Cook had left when he discovered
[104] the Sandwich islands. Mr. Campbell, in
another place, instead of using as above
the word *kanaka*, to signify *a man*, adopts
the proper term *tanata*, and which is very
similar to the Tonga word for *man*, viz.
[101] Tangata. It is well to mention that *Ota-*

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heite is also called by the Tonga people *Taheite*.

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[101]

P. 156. Boyd, the white resident, noticed as being inspector of the native shipwrights, had the same occupation even in Mr. Mariner's time, (1806). The purchase of the Lilly-bird, here mentioned, he also heard the particulars of: the white residents called her the Lady-bird. Besides the schooner, the king gave the American captain 4000 dollars, and a number of hogs, in exchange for her. When Mr. Mariner saw her, she was being coppered, under the direction of Boyd. The king said that he should invade Atooi as soon as she should be ready for sea.

P. 157. Clerk, captain of the king's packet, and Hairbottle, captain of the Lilly-bird, Mr. Mariner also knew very well. The latter very often acted as pilot; he might also be called harbour-master to the king. He is mentioned in the second volume of the present work, p. 62.

P. 162. The author here mentions the laborious method of cultivating *taro*, and states, that even the king sometimes as-

000 sisted in it, but why he could not conjecture, unless to set an example of industry to his people, but which, he acknowledges, they scarcely seem to want. Mr. Mariner was informed that other great chiefs as well as the king often assisted at this, and all kinds of laborious exercise, to render the body active, strong, and capable of enduring hardships.

P. 165. The number of white people on Wahoo is here stated to be nearly sixty: in Mr. Mariner's time they were counted at ninety-four.

P. 166. The author speaks of the drunkenness of the white people. Mr. Mariner observes that the natives also are strongly addicted to the same vice, when they can get the liquor, but that the king, to prevent such excesses, allowed of no stills but what were under the inspection of his officers, and that all spirit distilled was his property, which he sold or gave as favour or reward to whom he chose.

P. 167. The author here says, "*There were no missionaries upon the island during the time I remained in it, at which I was often much surprised.*" Neither were there any in Mr. Mariner's time, and when the king was questioned upon the subject of Christianity, this was his remarkable reply: "I should be afraid to adopt so danger-"ous an expedient as Christianity; for I "think no Christian king can govern in "the absolute manner in which I do, and "yet be loved by his subjects as I am "by mine: such a religion might perhaps "answer very well in the course of a few "generations; but what chief would sanc-"tion it in the beginning, with the risk of "its subverting his own power, and in-"volving the islands in war? I have made "a fixed determination not to suffer it." This declaration was made in the cabin of the Port au Prince, Mr. Mariner being present; Isaac Davis, one of the white residents, was the translator. Mr. Mariner is convinced that Davis gave a faithful representation of the sentiments of the king; for although the latter does not speak English, he often seems to understand what is spoken in that language, and frequently gives his nod of assent or dissent accordingly: it is indeed a question whether he does not understand English bet-

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000 ter than he pretends, but pleads ignorance from motives of policy. Mr. Mariner had afterwards ample confirmation of the king's sentiments in regard to Christianity from his Sandwich-island companions, at Tonga.

P. 170. The king's prime minister, Naai, nicknamed by the white people, Billy Pitt, was also well known to Mr. Mariner, who received from him a present of a very handsome helmet.

P. 179. On a certain occasion of ceremony, the king "*is obliged to stand till three spears are darted at him: he must catch the first with his hand, and with it ward off the other two. This is not a mere formality. The spear is thrown with the utmost force; and should the king lose his life there is no help for it.*" Mr. Mariner was told by the natives, that it was impossible the king could lose his life or even be wounded on this occasion; for should he chance to miss a spear, his tutelar god would catch it or turn it aside, rather than allow him to be hurt.

[104] P. 185. The author here speaks of the use of Ava, (or as the Tonga people call it,

Cava), which he never saw employed but 000
as a medicine to prevent corpulency, [104]
ardent spirits being adopted as a luxury instead of it. Mr. Mariner, when he was at Wahoo, saw it drunk twice as a luxury, and was told that several of the old men still preferred it to spirits. It must be remembered that this was four years before Mr. Campbell's time.

P. 188. It is here remarked that the women are much disposed to break the *taboo:* the author says, "*I have known them eat of the forbidden delicacies of pork and shark's flesh. What would be the consequence of a discovery I know not.*" Mr. Mariner also witnessed several instances of this. The Sandwich-island women have so many severe and impolitic restrictions with regard to food, that it would be unreasonable perhaps to expect that they should on all secure occasions be very faithfully strict: the punishment for such offences, however, is death. It is very well worth [171]
while to compare the state of the women [562]
in the Sandwich islands with that of the women of Tonga: it will afford an interest-

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000 ing proof how much a line of conduct, influ-
[171] enced by liberality and respect towards
[562] females, is productive of morality.

P. 206—7. The author here mentions a custom of the queen, that of preserving the bones of her father, wrapt up carefully in a piece of cloth, "*because she loved her father so dearly.*" Mr. Mariner saw these bones, and on enquiry, found it was not merely a custom of the queen, but a common practice among them.

P. 209. In regard to the question, whether the natives of the Sandwich islands are cannibals, Mr. Mariner is disposed to believe that they are not; those natives who were with him at Tonga always strongly denied the charge.

[114] These several statements, it is hoped, the reader will not think tedious: they serve as very fair proofs of the accuracy with which Mr. Mariner noticed what he saw, and the fidelity of his memory in re-
128 taining it. Some of these statements, as before mentioned, are inserted in the body of the present work, and were printed off before Mr. Campbell's book was pub-

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lished: to these may be added, the knowledge of the Sandwich islanders in the use of emetics and cathartics, as related in the second volume of this work, p. 232, and in Mr. Campbell's book, p. 174; and it is worth notice, that from the difference of the ingredients mentioned in the two accounts, it appears they are acquainted with more than one kind of each medicine. 128
In regard to what Mr. Mariner relates concerning the bones of Captain Cook, (see Vol. II. p. 62), it is rather extraordinary that Mr. Campbell makes no mention of any thing of the kind: it is possible the custom was dropped before his time, under the idea of giving offence to the English people. Mr. Mariner has no doubt of the fact, from the positive manner in which it was related to him by Hairbottle, and afterwards by those Sandwich-island natives that were with him at Tonga: perhaps Mr. Campbell can throw some light upon the subject. 000

Having thus far sketched an outline of Mr. Mariner's education and early habits, and given some instances in proof of his 114

114 qualifications as a narrator, it remains to furnish a short account of the advantageous opportunities which fell in his way. In the first place, it must be stated, that he was by far the best educated of all those who survived the capture of the Port
114 au Prince. From the first moment the
123 king of the Tonga islands saw him, he
609 conceived a strong prejudice in his favour,
727 and gave orders to those who had the management of the conspiracy, that if they should find it necessary to make a great slaughter, they were nevertheless to preserve *his* life;—this was the commencement of a friendship which lasted till the king's death: he gave him a residence within his own fencing; appointed one of his wives, a very sensible and well informed woman, to be his adopted mother, that she might employ her time in instructing him in the language and exact customs of the country: he admitted him to all his conferences with his chiefs, priests, and mataboolės: at length he adopted him as his own son, and gave him the name of a favourite son, (Togi Oocumméa), who had

died a few years before: wherever the 114
king went, Mr. Mariner might accompany 123
him if he chose: in all the battles fought 609
by the king, Mr. Mariner was present. 727
After his death, his son, who succeeded, equally extended to him his patronage and protection, or rather Mr. Mariner might be called his dearest brother, his constant, intimate, and confidential friend; and so sorry was the young king to part with him, that he actually proposed to give up his dominions to his uncle, and accompany Mr. Mariner to England,—a sufficient proof that the latter possessed those qualities of mind calculated to inspire a high degree of confidence and friendship. But perhaps I am anticipating too much of some of the subjects of the following sheets; it appears to me, however, proper to state these things, that the mind of the reader may be prepared, without mistrust, for the quantity of interesting matter which so young a man has collected and remembered.

It is now four years since Mr. Mariner's 114
arrival from the West Indies; during which

114 period he has been situated in the counting-house of a respectable merchant in the city, where he is still. His health is by no means good: this and other circumstances have occasioned the work several times to be suspended for above two months together; for, as I have before stated, not a single page of it has been written, even from his own memoranda, without his presence, which, in general, I could only have in the evening, or at night, after the hours of business, and his health did not always admit of such additional employment of his attention. He resides at No. 5, Edward's-place, Hackney-road.

128 In regard to my own labour in the present work I shall say but little. I am sensible there are many faults, and though I am by no means disposed to trouble the reader with unseasonable apologies, I beg leave to state, that the following pages were not written in the order they were destined to assume, but at very uncertain and irregular periods, as the result of various conversations; that sometimes the vocabulary, at other times the narrative mat-

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ter; at one period the grammar of the language, and at another the descriptions of ceremonies, formed the subject of discourse, indiscriminately, as opportunity offered: consequently, many phrases may have been used which the judicious critic will perhaps think too familiar and conversational, and which, under other circumstances, would easily have been avoided. In short, it is the excellence of the materials, tolerably well arranged, not any supposed merit in the composition, which is here offered as a subject of claim to the honour of public attention.

In respect to natural history, not much has been inserted, and that with little or no attempt at scientific distinctions of terms; for this being a branch of knowledge with which Mr. Mariner was but little acquainted, such distinctions might only lead to error and confusion; besides this subject has been in some degree handled by other travellers, whilst the topics with which Mr. Mariner is intimately conversant are those upon which we have hitherto had least information, and to such

128 we have accordingly thought it best to confine our subject. It is hoped, therefore, that all deficiencies with regard to botany, zoology, and mineralogy, will be thought amply compensated by abundance of information in respect of the religious and political, moral and domestic habits of an interesting portion of the human species, in whose character there is undoubtedly much to be admired, and a vast deal that lays a just claim to our attentive observation.

The specimens of music which are noted down in the second volume, p. 324, I am indebted for to an intelligent friend, who did me the favour to express them upon paper, from Mr. Mariner's voice.

J. M.

27, Basinghall-street,
Dec. 1816.

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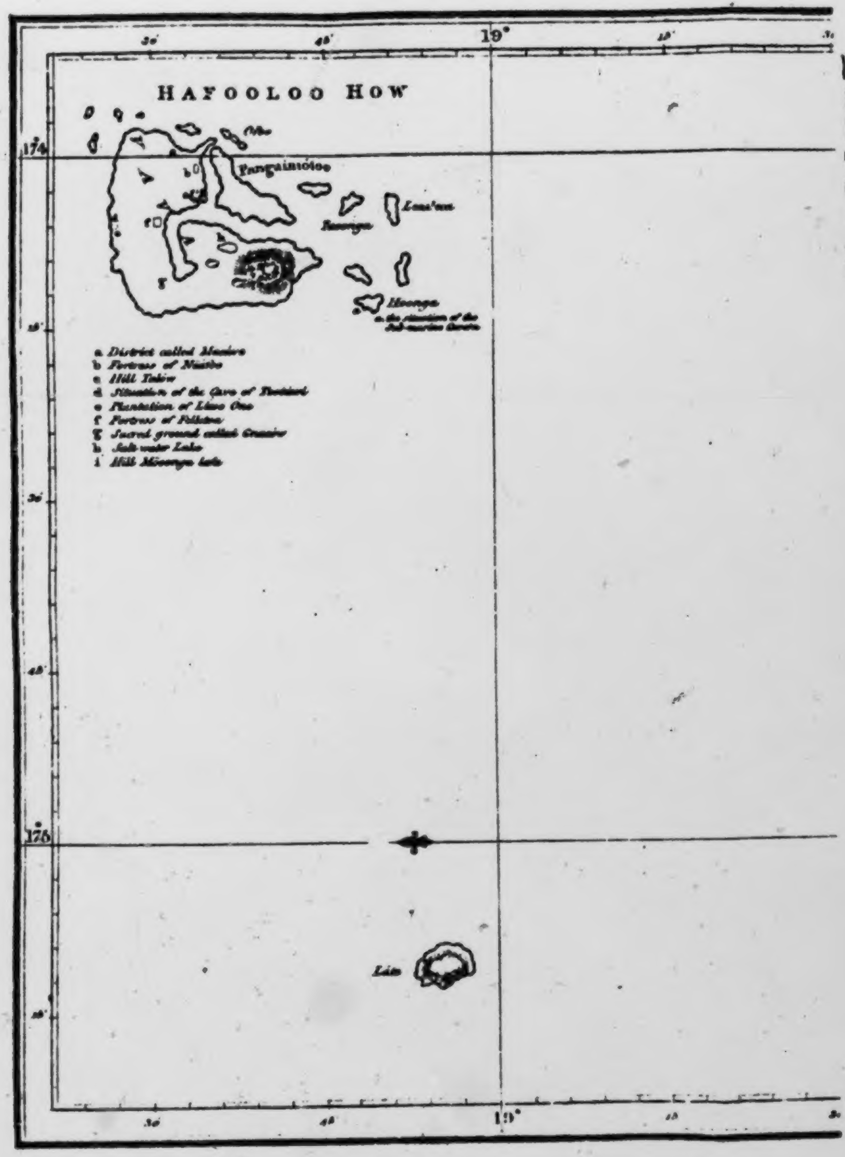
HAFOOLOO HOW
30'
40'
19°
10'
174
175
Oho
Pangaimotoo
Loos'ava
Hoonga
a District called Mauiro
b Fortress of Neafoo
c Hill Talow
d Situation of the Cave of Toobow
e Plantation of Lino Ono
f Fortress of Feletoa
g Sacred ground called Gnaaio
h Salt-water Lake
i Hill Moonga lahi
Lāte

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712
778
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[FACING p. 1-A]

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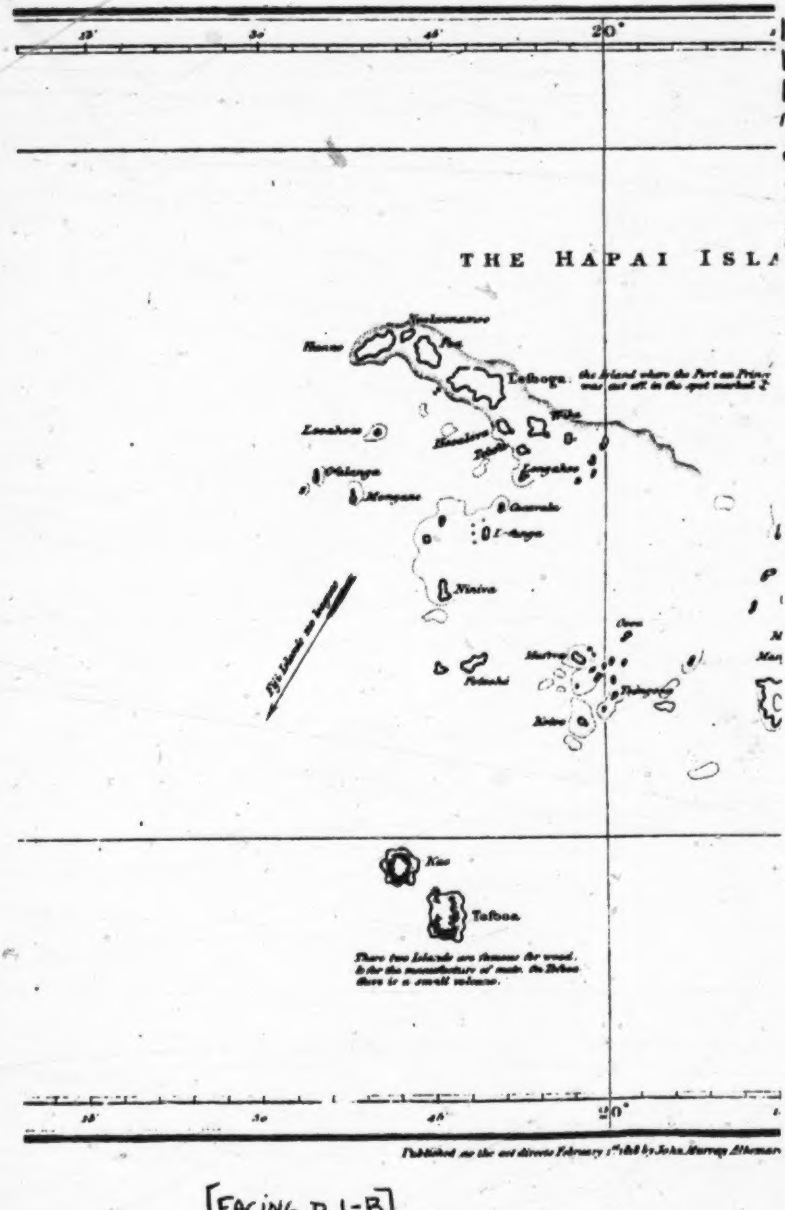
THE HAPAI ISLA
20°
30
40
Foa
Lefooga
the Island where the Port au Prince was cut off in the spot marked
Niniva
Kao
Tofooa
These two Islands are famous for wood, & for the manufacture of mats. On Tofooa there is a small volcano.

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[FACING P. 1-B]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9

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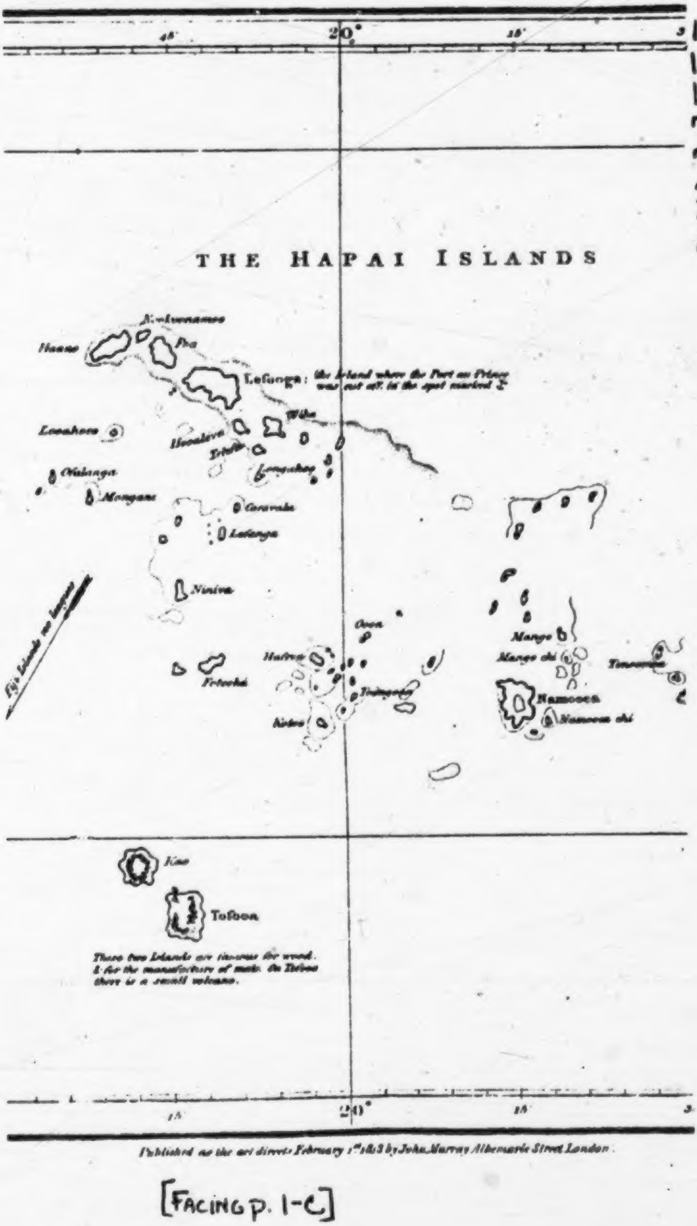
THE HAPAI ISLANDS

45'
20°
15'
Haano
Foa
Lefooga: the Island where the Port au Prince was cut off, in the spot marked ‡
Lefanga
Niniva
Fotooha
Mango
Mango chi
Namooca
Namooca chi
Fiji Islands
Kao
Tofooa

These two Islands are famous for wood & for the manufacture of mats. On Tofooa there is a small volcano.

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[FACING P. 1-C]

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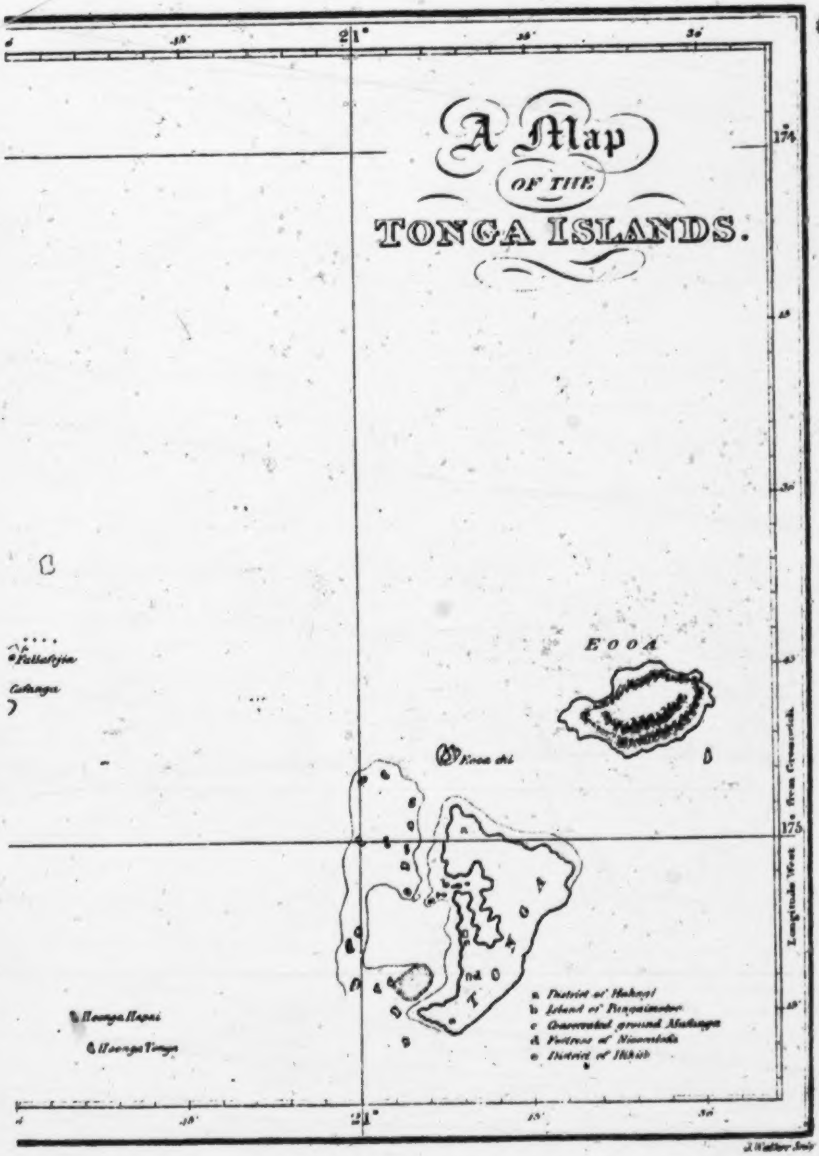

A Map OF THE TONGA ISLANDS.

21°
15'
30'
EOOA
Eooa-chi
Fallafajia
Catanga
Hoonga Hapai
Hoonga Tonga
TONGA
175
Longitude West from Greenwich
a District of Hahagi
b Island of Pangaimotoo
c Consecrated ground Mafanga
d Fortress of Nioocalofa
e District of Hihifo
J. Walker Sculp

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[FACING p.1-D]

CHAPTER I.

The Port au Prince sails from Gravesend—Arrives in the River of Plate—Touches at the Falkland Islands—Doubles Cape Horn—Falls in with the Earl St. Vincent, South whaler—Attempts to cut two whalers (that had been taken by the Spaniards) out of the Bay of Conception—Accident to Thomas Turner—Arrives in Coquimbo Roads—Desertion of eleven men—Captures three Spanish brigs—Attacks the town of Arica—Captures the town of Hilo, and burns it to the ground—Loss of the Begonio brig by fire—Captures a small Spanish brig—Picks up a boat with six hands on board, belonging to the Minerva, South whaler, whose crew had mutinied—Falls in with the Lucy privateer—In company with the Lucy, engages the Spanish frigate Astræa—Makes Chatham Island, and parts company with the Lucy—Arrives on the whaling ground—Makes the Isle of Plate—Captures three Spanish vessels—Anchors in Tacames Roads—Sails and anchors in Tola Roads—Friendly reception from the governor of Tola—Anecdote of the governor's daughter. OOO

ON Tuesday, February 12, 1805, at eleven o'clock A.M. the Port au Prince weighed anchor at Gravesend, made sail, and worked down the river. At twelve P. M. she came to an anchor at the Warp. The following day she weighed anchor again, passed through the Downs with a fair wind, and, sailing down the Channel, proceeded on her intended voyage.

[p.1]

000 No circumstances, worth mentioning, occurred during several weeks. The wind continued fair, but variable. On the 20th of March, in the afternoon, the mizen mast gave way by the jerk of a swell, and was found much decayed under the copper, in the way of the mizen gaff: this damage, however, by the next day, was completely repaired. On her arrival (April 9) in lat. 21. 55. S. long. 38. 38. W. a very heavy gale came on. The foretopsail yard, being now discovered to be rotten in the slings, was sent down and replaced by a new one. The gale continued to increase, and from three to five in the morning, continual flashes of lightning came on from different quarters, with loud and repeated claps of thunder, succeeded by very heavy rains.

From this period till the time of her arrival off the river of Plate, the weather was changeable, and for the most part stormy. On the 6th of May she commenced her cruize in this river; nothing particular, however, occurred for several days, except the loss of a boy, who accidentally fell overboard, and was drowned, in spite of every exertion made to save him. On the 13th, being off the island of Lobos, a boat was sent on shore to reconnoitre. In the evening she returned, without having discovered any inhabitants; a number of seals, however, were seen, and proper apparatus for skinning them, which in all probability had been used by persons from the main land, in the habit of resorting to this island for the express purpose of procuring seal skins.

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On Tuesday, the 14th, two boats were sent on shore to the high land above Maldonado, to reconnoitre and kill wild cattle, which were seen in abundance; the vessel in the mean time plied in a bay under the high land. The boats returned next morning at eight o'clock, with one bull, not having been able to kill more, on account of the storminess of the weather, which rendered them too wild. The crew were detained on shore much longer than they otherwise would have been, in consequence of the desertion of two men, who had been left to take care of the boats; and after a search of several hours, without effect, they were under the necessity of returning without them. About three hours after their arrival on board, the two men in question were seen on the beach, making signals to be brought off, which being done, they were seized up and received a dozen lashes each. Their object was to have gone over to Maldonado, but a river lying in the way, one of them not being a swimmer, and the other unwilling to proceed by himself, they thought proper to return.

On the 18th, finding it impossible to remain in the river, owing partly to the strong flood

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and partly to contrary winds, she stood out of the river and bore away on her voyage. The next day very heavy gales coming on, she was found to make much water from a leak supposed to be on the larboard bow, near the surface of the water, which was afterwards found to be the case. The Falkland Islands appeared within sight on Friday, the 31st, a few days after which, the weather becoming calm, with a smooth sea, the carpenter was let down over the larboard bow, to nail lead and canvass over a cracked plank, now discovered to be the source of the leak.

Monday, the 17th of June, Cape Horn bore W. by S. four leagues. The weather was very snowy. The leak still continued. On Wednesday, the 26th, Gilbert's Island bore N. five leagues. From this place she took a fresh departure.

On Wednesday, the 3d of July, having doubled the cape, she fell in with the Earl St. Vincent, Captain Pinkum, a South whaler, homeward bound, by whom she dispatched letters for England. She received, at the same time, from on board this vessel, Thomas Turner, harpooner, concerning whom it may be interesting to state a few particulars. He went out at first on board a South whaler, whose name is not now recollected: she made a very successful voyage, and, on her return home, fell in with the Earl St. Vincent, outward bound. Turner, being encouraged by his late good success, got permission to go on board the Earl St. Vincent, and went accordingly, with the view of doubling his good fortune. This vessel was also very successful. On his return home a second time he fell in with the Port au Prince, and went on board of her, as just related, with the same views of enjoying a continuation of the good success hitherto attending him; but the favours of fortune were now at an end; by grasping at more, he soon lost all; meeting with a most severe fate, as will be hereafter related. 000

The Port au Prince having received information from the Earl St. Vincent, that two South whalers were detained at Conception, it was resolved that she should proceed, as it lay in her voyage, to endeavour to cut them out. Accordingly, on the 12th, she passed the island of Mocha with a fair wind, and steered along the coast for Conception. When she was off the island of St. Mary's, two boats were sent on shore for vegetables: a few men sick of the scurvy were also sent on shore to refresh. On the 20th of July she arrived off Quiriquina, an island near the bay of Conception. Here four boats, well armed and manned, were sent on shore to procure stock. They were commanded

000 by Mr. J. Parker, first lieutenant; Mr. Russel, second lieutenant; Mr. Brown, whaling-master; and Mr. Williams, officer of marines. The boats represented to the inhabitants that the Port au Prince was an American, whilst they received information in return, that there were two English whalers in the bay, exactly as was stated by the Earl St. Vincent. The boats waited till dusk, and then proceeded from the island to Conception, being well assured by Thomas Turner that there were no guns mounted there, nor any batteries; and of this he was fully convinced, he said, having formerly been on shore there. The weather, unfortunately, was now calm, which circumstance prevented the Port au Prince from getting into the bay to assist the boats. They, however, very well succeeded, the night being dark, in boarding one of the whalers (the Albion), and having secured the Spaniards and cut the cables, towed her about a quarter of a mile, the calm rendering her sails quite useless: and no doubt they would have succeeded in towing her quite clear of the forts, for such there were, notwithstanding Turner's account, had it not been for an accident, occasioned by this unfortunate man. He was employed steering one of the boats, when happening to look to the priming of his pistols, one of them unluckily went off: this alarming the sentinels on shore,

two batteries were immediately opened upon them; keeping up a smart fire, with well directed shot, which hulled the ship several times. It was here that Turner met his fate: to avoid the fire he stooped his body, bringing his chin near his knees, when a shot took away his lower jaw, his left arm as far as the elbow, and his right hand, grazing at the same time his left side, and carrying off the upper fleshy part of his right thigh; it did not, however, immediately kill him. The boat was much shattered, and one lad was slightly wounded by a splinter. The calm still continuing, and the enemy keeping up a constant fire, they were obliged to relinquish the prize, and pull on board as fast as they were able, leaving the shattered boat behind them. About six hours afterwards Turner died of his wounds.

On Monday, the 22d, the wind coming in light breezes, the Port au Prince endeavoured to get into the Bay of Conception. After coming within range of a seven gun battery, she hove in stays, and gave them a shot, which they immediately returned, striking the covering-board abaft the gangway, and slightly wounding a boy. They afterwards fired seven shot more, well directed, but without effect. Finding it impracticable to do any thing with the fort, and both

000 the whalers being now hauled close under it, she stood out to sea.

On Monday, the 29th, at ten o'clock P. M. two boats were sent into the bay to reconnoitre. They found the town in a state of alarm, drums beating, and lights moving about in all directions: but discovering that the ships were still close to the fort, they soon returned. The following day was employed in disguising the ship like an American, in order to go into Coquimbo Roads to refresh. On Wednesday, at five P. M. she anchored in these roads, and hoisted American colours. At eight o'clock three Spanish gentlemen, mistaking her for a smuggler, came on board with the expectation of finding contraband goods. A stratagem was used to confirm their opinion till they should bring money on board to trade with. Samples of cloth, cut from the inside of the officers' coats, were accordingly shewn to them as fair specimens of the quality of the goods: on which they promised to bring the next day 4000 dollars to make purchases. In the mean while a letter was sent to the governor requesting leave to purchase stock, to which he returned for answer, that he had received orders from the viceroy of Lima not to supply American ships. At ten the following night, the three Spanish gentlemen just mentioned returned, accompanied by three others. 000 They brought specie to the amount of 4000 dollars. After having been entertained in the cabin till two or three in the morning, they became anxious to see the goods. They were accordingly conducted below, but soon informed of the disagreeable necessity of detaining them as prisoners of war. At first they took it for a joke, and laughed heartily, but soon became serious enough on being convinced of the truth. One of them was so much affected that he actually swooned away. As soon as the first shock arising from this unpleasant information was over, they began to be a little more reconciled; but expressed their expectations, that although they were prisoners of war, their 4000 dollars would be returned: they were told in answer, that the Port au Prince being a *private* ship of war, and the men consequently having no wages but what consisted in the booty they might obtain, the money must undoubtedly be retained. Don Felix, who was one of them, and who well deserved his name, did not make himself at all unhappy on the occasion, but ate, drank, and cheered up the rest as well as he could. On finding, at dinner, that his companions had lost their stomachs, he very jocosely desired them to stand upon no compliments, but to fall to and

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eat heartily, the whole being well paid for, and that consequently they were under no obligations to the captain for his entertainment.

The following day, August 2, a letter was sent to the governor of the town, to inform him that the Port au Prince was an enemy; and that, if he did not capitulate, the place would be taken by force. In the mean time, two more Spaniards came on board with 400 dollars, expecting to purchase smuggled goods, but of course met the fate of their six countrymen. In the evening four boats, well manned and armed, were sent on shore to break open and plunder certain warehouses opposite the vessel, and about a mile and a half distant from the town, which was situated on the other side of the bay. They succeeded in bringing off 52 packed hides of tallow, 800 gallons of wine in jars, four pigs of copper, and a number of dried hides. The first six prisoners were now liberated and sent on shore, though contrary to the inclination of a majority of the ship's company, who wished them to be detained, with a view of getting a ransom: Captain Duck, however, thought they had already paid dearly enough, and sent them away accordingly. About the same time a bullock and several goats were procured from the Indians, for which, not being

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considered as enemies, they were punctually paid.

The next day, the two remaining prisoners were ransomed for 300 dollars; and an answer was brought from the governor, stating his determination of defending the town to the last man. As the place was protected by twenty-two guns, and apparently by a considerable number of troops, it was not deemed advisable to attempt taking it. Three armed boats were, however, sent on shore to forage for fresh stock: they returned in four hours with thirty live goats.

On Monday, the 5th of August, the Port au Prince weighed anchor, worked out of the bay, and made all sail to the northward; and, on the Friday following, arrived in Caldera Bay. Here a fisherman was employed to go to Copiapo, (a town fifteen leagues up the country), to employ himself diligently in informing the inhabitants that the vessel was an American smuggler with contraband goods. The next night eleven of the ship's company deserted and went on shore, the gunner, who was one of them, having procured them pistols, cutlasses, and ammunition. In the morning Captain Duck was informed by some Indians that they had met the deserters on their road to Copiapo. He immediately wrote to the governor to inform him

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that they were mutineers, and to request him to send them back. The following day five Spanish gentlemen arrived from Copiapo, who stated that they had met the deserters four or five leagues from that town, and had been informed by them that the ship was an English privateer, in consequence of which, not knowing what to believe, they had sent back the greater part of the money with which they had intended to purchase goods. They were detained on board till the next day, and then confined; 457 dollars, a large bar of silver, and a number of trinkets, being taken from their bags. The captain then wrote another letter to the governor, stating that he had five Spanish prisoners, and wished to make an exchange for the deserters. On Thursday an answer was received from the governor, promising to deliver up the deserters if they came within his jurisdiction; on which the captain sent him a letter of thanks, and a present of a cheese. The Saturday following a present of gold and silver ore was sent by the governor to the captain, with a letter, stating that he had obtained no news of the deserters; in consequence of which intelligence, the prisoners were dismissed in the afternoon without exchange or ransom.

The following day (Sunday, the 18th of August) the ship weighed anchor, and made sail to the northward. Between this and the Thursday following, three Spanish brigs and a boat were taken: one of them was cut out of Pisagua Bay, after having just discharged her cargo of wheat; another was a small open vessel, laden with manure; and the two others were on their passage, one to Inquiqui, the other to Pavillon, to take in a cargo of manure. The men were much dissatisfied at taking a parcel of dung barges, as they termed them, instead of rich Spanish galleons. This discontent of the men operated to a certain degree, with other causes, in bringing about the ultimate destruction of the ship, as will hereafter be seen. She now proceeded on her course, after having put all the prisoners on board the open vessel, with orders to proceed towards Pisagua; and on Monday, the 2d of September, being off Arica, saw a vessel at anchor, and immediately made sail towards the bay. At five P. M. she got into the roads; and finding the town not well defended by cannon, opened a fire upon it. At five she came to an anchor, and kept up an intermitting fire during the night, expecting, in the mean while, the arrival of the prizes, till which time an assault could not be made upon the town for want of hands. Early the next morning a letter was sent to the governor, requesting him to capitulate; but this he refused, having, during the

000 night, raised a fortification of sand with fourteen embrasures.

At eight o'clock the following morning the Port au Prince warped within range of grape shot of the town, and again commenced a cannonade. At noon she ceased firing, after having done considerable damage. The brig was still at anchor, with her sails unbent and rudder unshipped. At two o'clock a firing was again commenced, and renewed at intervals, during which time the prizes came to an anchor. Another letter was now sent to the governor, threatening to burn the brig and destroy the town if he did not capitulate; but he still refused. It was at this time impossible to land, on account of the very heavy surf; a brisk fire was therefore kept up till five in the afternoon, when the brig was burnt. Several shots were fired from the fort, but without effect. Doubting whether the place, after all, was worth the time and trouble of taking, at six P. M. the ship got under weigh, and steered towards Hilo, with an intention of taking that place. Two six-pounders were put on board the Begonio brig to anchor before the town, and cover the men while landing, as the Port au Prince could not get close enough in shore. The following day, at nine o'clock A. M. the ship and brigs came to an anchor at Guana, a small village about a mile to the southward of Hilo. The boats were now sent, with forty-five men, on board the Begonio, which anchored at ten before the town, commenced firing, and began to land the men at the same time. Whilst landing, the enemy opened a smart fire of musquetry, which mortally wounded one man, and slightly wounded two others. The men being all landed, took refuge behind a rock, whence, seeing a fit opportunity, they rushed forth, drove the Spaniards out of the town, and took possession of it. In one house they witnessed a scene sufficiently ludicrous, viz. the commandant and a fat friar, so drunk that they could not stand; these they secured without much trouble, in hopes of receiving a ransom for them.

As the enemy was expected to come shortly in greater numbers from the country,—to defend themselves better they took possession of the church, and mounted a swivel on the steeple. In the mean while the men plundered and pillaged the place of every thing valuable, nor was it possible to restrain them. Silver candlesticks, chalices, incense pans, crucifixes, and images also of silver, constituted a rich booty: those made of wax and wood were of course not appropriated, but, notwithstanding, sadly abused. The next morning, at eight A. M. the enemy not having yet made his appearance, the officers

000 and men secured all the plate that could be found, as well as the two prisoners, who, by this time, had become tolerably sober; they then set fire to the town, and returned on board.

During the preceding night the Begonio had driven from her anchor, drifted aground, and her people had been obliged to quit her. She afterwards took fire, and was entirely consumed. On Saturday, the 7th, the commandant was sent on shore to procure his own and the friar's ransom.

On Sunday, the 8th of September, she weighed anchor, and made sail for Punta de la Coles to water, where the next day she came to an anchor, and sent a guard of musquetry on shore to protect the boats while watering. A bullock was now received from the commandant as part of his ransom, and a message, stating that, as his property lay a considerable distance up the country, he could not send any thing more within ten days. This would have been too great a delay for the vessel, the friar was therefore sent on shore without ransom.

On Friday, the 13th, she again got under weigh, the two prize brigs having been previously sunk, after the stores had been taken out of them. On Saturday she took the Nuestra Señora del Carne la Serena, bound to Guiana for manure. At ten A. M. a boat was seen pull-

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ing towards the ship, which, in the course of an hour, came alongside, with six men, and proved to belong to the Minerva, South whaler, Captain Obit Cottle, of London; Mr. Matthew Johnson first mate, and Mr. Benjamin Bernard second mate. The boat stated, that the remainder of the ship's company, nineteen in number, had mutinied, shot the captain, and allowed them to have the two boats. These six and four more were permitted to leave the ship with the two boats; but after having been ten days at sea, the four, being much fatigued, went on shore in the jolly boat; since which the remaining six had been fourteen days in the whaling boat before they fell in with the Port au Prince. When they left the Minerva, the mutineers hoisted a black flag, and declared themselves at war with all nations.

On Thursday, the 19th, a thousand dollars were discovered on board the prize brig, as also plate to the value of three or four hundred dollars. She was afterwards given up as a cartel, all the prisoners being put on board of her.

On Sunday, the 22d, the Port au Prince fell in with the Lucy privateer, Captain Ferguson, from London, and in whose company, on the following day, she came to an anchor off Chinca. The boats were then sent on shore with forty armed men from each ship. In the afternoon

000 they returned, having succeeded in plundering the town, without, however, finding any thing of much consequence. The booty consisted of 168 dollars, and a quantity of plate. In the mean while a whale boat was staved to pieces by the surf.

Friday, the 27th, the boats, manned and armed, were sent to attempt landing at a nunnery; but they could not effect their purpose, owing to the surf, which ran very high, and were consequently obliged to return. In the afternoon the Port au Prince discovered a sail, gave chase, came up with her at five P. M. and fired several shot; but being close in with the land, she made her escape under the batteries of Calao.

On Friday, the 4th of October, a sail being seen standing in for Paita, the two ships gave chase; the Lucy being ahead, took her, and found her to be a king's tender bound to Paita, laden with pork, bread, vinegar, and olive oil, for the Spanish frigate Astræa, lying at anchor in Paita roads. The circumstance of this frigate being there prevented a meditated attack upon the town. The frigate soon got under weigh, and gave chase to the two ships, which immediately stood out of the bay; but at two P. M. being three leagues from the shore, they tacked ship, and stood towards the Astræa, and in half an hour commenced a close action with her,

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when she bore up for the lee-shore, and engaged before the wind. At half past four the Port au Prince was close on the lee-shore in four or five fathoms water; here she lost her mizen-top-mast, which was shot away, and fell athwart the main yard, preventing it, consequently, from bracing about. This was not her only damage: her mizen was shot down, main-top-sail and top-gallant-sail shot away, fore-top-sail-yard shot down, jib and fore-top-mast stay-sail halliards carried away, and most of her braces and bow-lines the same. In this situation, on a lee-shore, she was obliged to discontinue the engagement. The Lucy, who had not received so much damage in her rigging, had hauled off some time before, and made sail. The enemy seeing this, hauled off on the same tack. The Port au Prince immediately bent a new main-top-sail, when the Astræa, finding she did not gain ground, wore ship and stood in for Paita. The Port au Prince was not able to follow her, and renew the action, on account of her fore-cap being shot away, besides the other damage in her rigging and hull. She had only one lad killed by a grape-shot, which wounded him miserably: he lived about an hour. Three others were slightly wounded. A few following days were employed in repairing damages. The Port au Prince procured a fresh supply of shot from the Lucy, which, being

000 in want of provisions, received the whole of the stock from the prize, which was then ordered to proceed to James' Island, one of the Gallipago Islands.

On Tuesday, the 8th, in the afternoon, being to windward of Paita, the two ships bore up for the roads, where the Astræa was seen hauled close up in the head of the bay: they immediately stood in, and recommenced action with the frigate, which was continued for more than an hour, during which the Port au Prince received considerable damage. As the Astræa was hauled in shore, firm as a battery, with springs on her cables, her shot were sure to tell; and, as the two ships were obliged to engage her under weigh, they found it impossible to take her. Two carronades were dismounted on the quarter-deck of the Port au Prince: she had also one man killed by an eighteen pounder, which came through the bends into the cock-pit.

The two ships now stood out of the bay in company, proceeded on their voyage, and on Wednesday the 16th made Chatham Island, one of the Gallipagos. On the following day they came to an anchor, but saw no signs of the prize that had been ordered to proceed to this quarter, nor ever afterwards heard of her. Whilst at this place some turpin (land-tortoise) was procured from on shore; and all the plate and dol-

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lars, which had been taken by the two ships in company, were equally divided between them.

On Sunday, the 3d of November, having parted company with the Lucy, the Port au Prince gave chase to one of three ships which appeared in sight, and coming up, found her to be the American ship Neutrality, Captain Foulger; the other two were the Britannia and British Tar, of London. The American had been in Paita since the engagement with the Astræa, and from her account it appeared that the frigate was commanded by a Frenchman, and had on board several of the deserters from the Port au Prince. She had received orders from the viceroy of Peru to run aground, if she were hard pressed by an enemy. In the late engagement she was much damaged in the hull; her fore-top-mast was shot away, forty hands killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. She would in all probability have struck, had she not heard from the deserters that the Port au Prince was very deficient in men and shot.

The ship had now arrived on her whaling ground, and kept therefore a good look-out for whales, according to her instructions. Till the latter end of January, 1806, she kept her cruize between the latitudes 1. 10. S. and 00. 20. N. but, owing to the scarcity of whales, had very little success. On the 22d of this month, by

000 the advice of Mr. Brown, the whaling-master, she proceeded to shift her whaling-ground more to the northward and eastward. During this interval no particular transaction occurred, except that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bernard, who, it may be recollected, were the first and second mates of the Minerva, (the South whaler whose crew had mutinied), went on board the Rebecca, bound shortly for England.

On Saturday, the 1st of February, in latitude 00. 14. S. longitude 81. 50. W. she espied land, and accordingly steered in for it: at eleven, A. M. however, she tacked ship, and stood to windward, with a view of getting to the isle of Plate, it being considered a good whaling ground. She made this isle on Tuesday, the 4th, and perceiving a sail to windward, sent three boats after her, took her, and found her to be the San Pedro, in ballast, bound to Point St. Helena for salt. On Thursday following, still keeping a look out for whales, she fell in with a strange sail, boarded her, and found her to be the Spanish brig Santa Rosa del Carmo, laden with salt, flour, and tallow. She took her alongside, discharged her of her cargo, and the next day, putting twenty prisoners on board of her, gave her up as a cartel.

On Friday, the 14th, she captured the Transito brig, from Tomaco, bound to Paita, laden with cocoa-nuts; and on Monday following she stood into Tacames roads, to procure fresh provisions, where she came to an anchor in the afternoon, with the two prizes in company. Here three armed boats were sent on shore, who, after a time, returned laden with oranges, limes, plantains, pine-apples, &c. as also a pig and a goat. They went on shore again the next day, and procured two bullocks and an additional quantity of fruit. As no convenient watering-place was to be found here, the ship got under weigh on Thursday, the 20th, and steered farther north, towards Tola, and on the Sunday following came to an anchor in Tola roads. In the afternoon a letter was sent to the governor, requesting stock: he very politely complied, and the boat returned with six pigs, a number of fowls, &c. The next day she took a canoe, laden with jerk beef and pork; but Captain Duck understanding that it belonged to the governor, immediately liberated it, by way of return for his politeness. It might have been mentioned before, that while at Tacames a relation of the governor requested a passage to Tola, which the captain readily complied with, entertained him very well on board, and set him safe on shore at that place. This circumstance, no doubt, in a great measure, gave rise to the unusual civility of the governor.

000 During the time the ship remained at this place, the officers were very well received and entertained at the governor's house. He was a very gentlemanly old man, kept a good table, and was happy to see his friends. He had an only daughter, a very agreeable girl, of about sixteen, who had just come from a nunnery, where she had received her education. She was greatly concerned at hearing of the depredations committed by the Port au Prince, particularly at Hilo, where the church was plundered of its consecrated vessels. The attack which had been meditated upon the nunnery to the southward of Calao shocked her extremely; she lifted up her hands and eyes, uttered some expressions in Spanish, and laboured for a little time under considerable agitation. She expressed, in tolerably good English, her sentiments upon these subjects, in particular to young Mariner, then about fourteen years of age, and told him she was quite certain his ship would never again reach England. Among other things she asked him if he had had any hand in robbing the church at Hilo; to which, when he replied jocosely that he only knocked down as many images as he could reach, she predicted that he would never again see his father and mother, and that the ship and all the crew would certainly be destroyed, as a just judgment from

God, for the heinous sacrilege committed by them.—Mariner told her, that if she were in England she would stand a chance of being punished for a witch: the observation produced a laugh, accompanied by a pretty smart box on the ears. So great a favour, from so fair a hand, could not but be received in good part; he accordingly took the first opportunity of going on board and bringing her a cheese, as a present (the scarcity of the article rendering it valuable at this place). She, who would not be behindhand in generosity, taking a pair of gold buckles from her shoes, gave them to him, but not without reminding him that he would never again see home; and that the buckles, which she presented merely as an acknowledgment, would not long be of service to him. He little thought at this time that her prediction was destined to be for the most part fulfilled, and that by mere hair-breadth escapes, his good fortune, after a lapse of years, would bring him through unforeseen difficulties and dangers, home to his native country, though never to the sight of his mother, who died during his absence, leaving his father to reflect on the uncertain fate of a son, whom he could scarcely hope to see again.

CHAPTER II.

000 **The ship departs from Tola—Anchors in Chatham Bay—Captures a Spanish brig—Catches four whales, making up the number of fifteen—Cuts a brig out of St. Blas—Question concerning the propriety of looking out after certain richly laden vessels—Remarks—Arrives at Ceros Island—Illness of Captain Duck—Information respecting a Spanish sloop of war, laden with tribute money—Death of Captain Duck—The command of the vessel falls to Mr. Brown—Funeral of Captain Duck—Ship sails from Ceros—Takes a fresh departure from Guadaloupe—Arrives at the Island of Owyhee—Sails again, and arrives in Anahooroo Bay, at Woahoo—The chief refuses permission to enter the close harbour—Sails for Otaheite—Gets too much to the westward, and makes for the Tonga Islands—Anchors for the last time at the Island of Lefooga—Mutiny and desertion of four men—Farther desertion of fifteen others—Suspicious appearance of the natives—Their first plan to take the vessel unsuccessful—Natives assemble on deck in great numbers—Signal of attack—Mr. Mariner runs into the gun-room, and, meeting with the cooper, they determine to blow up the vessel—Their intention accidentally prevented—In the mean time general massacre upon deck—Mr. Mariner and the cooper brought before the chief—Mr. Mariner is sent on shore—The state of his mind at this period—Finds Mr. Brown on the beach murdered—He expects to be killed and eaten—Is brought before the king—The ship is run aground by the king's orders.**

AFTER wooding and watering the ship at Tola, and procuring about fourteen bullocks, six pigs, and a quantity of fruit, she weighed anchor and made sail, leaving the brigs behind, after having 000 stripped them of their anchors, cables, sails, &c.

Finding the leak increase, she proceeded towards the island of Cocos, to careen. On Friday, the 14th of February, at sunset, this island appeared W. ½ S. twelve leagues, and the next day she came to an anchor in Chatham Bay. The water casks being sent on shore to fill, they began to careen the ship. On running the guns over to starboard, and heeling the ship four streaks, the leak was found to proceed from a graving-piece not being properly secured under the fore-chains. The copper under the larboard bow was found to be in a bad state; it was accordingly stripped off, and ¾-inch board was used for sheathing. On Tuesday, the 18th, the principal leaks were considered to be pretty well stopped, and the ship was therefore righted. After wooding, watering, and painting, she weighed anchor on the 25th, and made sail towards the whaling ground.

On Saturday, the 5th of March, having made Pan de Azucar, which bore N. six or seven leagues, she recommenced her whaling cruize, but which, notwithstanding the most diligent look out during the lapse of two or three weeks, was very unsuccessful; and hence the men began to be exceedingly discontented.

On Wednesday, the 30th of March, she captured the Spanish brig Santa Isidora, Captain Josef Evernzega, from Guiàquil, bound to Acapulco, laden with cocoa. At meridian the land off Acapulco bore N. distance seven or eight miles. The next day the captain of the brig and ten other prisoners were sent on board their own long-boat, and all preparations were made to dispatch the prize to Port Jackson. The following day the Port au Prince stood off from the land, with the prize brig in company: the brig's small boat was given to the remainder of the prisoners, and they were sent on shore, with the exception of the Spanish carpenter, who was detained in the prize, and also one man who entered for the ship. On this day Mr. M‘Farlane, the surgeon, deserted. The following day Mr. John Parker received charge of the brig, with orders to proceed to Port Jackson, and with proper instructions for selling the vessel and cargo: he was allowed ten hands and four months provisions. At eight A. M. she parted company. The Port au Prince now kept plying to windward, keeping a good look out for whales.

On Monday, the 12th of May, she caught four whales, which, together with what had been caught before at sundry times, made up the number of fifteen, being the whole that were taken during the voyage. From this period till June no circumstance transpired worthy of notice.

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On Tuesday, the 3d of June, Cape Corientes bore S. and by E. seven or eight leagues: the ship stretched into St. Blas, and, when close in, discovered a merchant vessel lying at anchor, apparently almost ready for sea. The Port au Prince immediately tacked ship and stood out to the Maria Islands, under American colours; for it would have been impossible to have cut this vessel out from her present station, protected, as she was, by a strong fort at the top of a hill, under which the vessel lay at anchor. The next day a boat was sent off to the rock Pedro de Mar, to watch the motions of the ship.

On Monday, the 9th, the boat returned, and reported that there was a man of war brig at anchor outside of the merchant vessel. The boat was again dispatched for farther information. The rainy season was now set in, commencing with heavy rains, thunder, and lightning. On the Monday following the boat returned again, with information that the man of war brig had hauled into the mole. The merchantman was still riding at anchor, seemingly ready for sea. The boat was dispatched a third time; but she returned on the Wednesday following, when every thing was still in the same state. It was now resolved to make all sail, and steer for St. Blas, with intention of cutting out the ship in the night. At ten P. M. the Port au

000 Prince approached the rock Pedro de Mar, to be in readiness. At this time there came on a heavy squall, with thunder, lightning, and much rain. Towards midnight it fell calm, and the boats were prevented from effecting their purpose: they were, however, sent to the rock, to be in readiness to pursue their object the following night Before day-break, a small land wind springing up, the Port au Prince got off from the land without being discovered. As soon as day-light appeared, the boats perceived, from the rock, that the vessel had attempted to come out, but being becalmed, had dropped anchor five or six miles from the batteries. One boat was immediately dispatched to the Port au Prince, to inform her of the circumstance, whilst the two remaining boats proceeded to take possession of her. At noon, a fresh breeze springing up, the Port au Prince made all sail, and steered towards St. Blas. At three P. M. the boats took possession of their expected prize, which proved to be the corbeta Santa Anna, Captain Francisco Puertas, laden with pitch, tar, and cedar boards, bound to Guiaquil. The Spaniards had cut their cable, and made an attempt to run in under the batteries, but the boats taking possession of her in time prevented that intention. At day-light the following morning twenty prisoners were sent on shore in the long-boat: two negroes and

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two Spaniards, who entered for the Port au Prince, were retained. The two negroes would have been sent on shore also, but they fell on their knees, and begged and prayed hard to be kept on board: the captain of the prize was, indeed, very anxious that they should be sent on shore, as they were the property of the owner; but Captain Duck's humanity would by no means consent to this; for they clasped his knees, and entreated him with such earnest looks and words of persuasion, that, although he had no use for them, he could not but listen to their request: they afterwards turned out to be very honest, faithful fellows. From the prize were taken two bullocks, a pig, two hundred weight of bread, a quantity of jerk-beef, fowls, pumpkins, and one hundred and seventeen dollars and three quarters. The command of the prize was given to Mr. Maclaren, with twelve hands, besides a Spaniard, to navigate her, with orders to proceed to Port Jackson, and proper instructions how to act on his arrival there.

On the 23d of June the Spaniard on board informed the captain that two vessels were expected daily at Acapulco, from Guiaquil. They were laden with cocoa, and had sailed from the latter place but a few days after the Santa Isidora. The question of propriety in looking after these vessels now occasioned a dispute

000 between Captain Duck and Mr. Brown, the whaling-master. The captain was of opinion that these vessels should be looked after, although contrary to their instructions: Mr. Brown, on the other hand, contended that the whaling cruisé should alone occupy their attention, although the ground appeared so bad. It was, however, at length determined that the Port au Prince should proceed for the island of Ceros, to make up for her ill success in her whaling cruize, by laying in a cargo of elephant oil and seal skins, this being part of her instructions. The two vessels laden with cocoa were therefore not waited for, although they would undoubtedly have been rich prizes. Here it may with propriety be remarked, that had the Port au Prince been fitted out alone as a privateer, she might have made a good voyage; or had her instructions been in such discretionary terms that the captain could have acted according to his own judgment, she might equally have made a successful cruise. But having two objects in view, the attention being divided between them, and all operations being fettered by the rigidness of the instructions, her success was far less than what it otherwise would have been.

No circumstance of importance occurred up to the 30th of July, when the island of Ceros appeared within sight, bearing N. W. ½ N. twenty miles. The following day a boat was sent on shore at one of the San Benito islands: she brought back information that the place was well stocked with sea-elephants and seals. In the mean time the ship proceeded towards the island of Ceros, and on Friday, the 1st of August, she came to an anchor at the S. E. part of that island.

On Sunday the carpenter was employed in examining the state of the vessel, and after ripping off the copper from the bows, and taking down the filling pieces, the wood-ends and some of the planks were found very much decayed. In the afternoon Captain Duck, finding himself very ill, went on shore. The next day the carpenter discovering a plank very much eaten by rats, he removed it altogether, and replaced it with a new one.

On Thursday, the 7th of August, the O'Caen, an American ship, from Boston, came to an anchor at this island. This vessel brought information that a Spanish sloop of war was at anchor in an inlet, about three days sail to the northward, on the coast of California. She had been sent by the viceroy of Peru to receive the tributes from the different governors on that coast; but on her return, being very leaky, and her crew in a bad state of health, she was under the necessity of putting into that place to refresh,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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000 till assistance could be procured from Acapulco. These tributes were partly in money and partly in valuable furs; and a very rich prize, no doubt, she would have proved, and very easily taken, had not untoward events ordered matters otherwise. The people, of course, were eager to possess themselves of so excellent a prize; and Captain Duck, anxious to study the real interest of the owners, although by infringing upon the strict sense of their instructions, promised the crew to go in pursuit of their so much wished for object, as soon as he felt himself a little better. He did not live, however, to execute his intentions; for he died on Monday, the 11th of August, at half past seven in the afternoon. The command of the vessel now devolved on Mr. Brown, whaling-master, who very much disappointed the expectations of the men, by refusing to look after the sloop of war; urging as his reason, that the ship was in a very leaky state, and withal deficient in shot. He moreover stated his intention of proceeding to the Sandwich Islands, to put the ship in such a condition as to enable her to proceed to Port Jackson, for a thorough repair.

On Wednesday morning, the 13th of August, Captain Duck was buried on shore: the captain and crew of the O'Caen attended the ceremony. A cedar board was erected at the head of the grave, in place of a tomb-stone, on which the name, age, and profession of the deceased was carved out: he was, indeed, a very worthy man, bore a most excellent character, and was much lamented by the crew, many of whom shed tears of unfeigned sorrow on the occasion. In the afternoon of this day the conduct of Mr. Brown was considered very unwarrantable, as he obliged the men, notwithstanding all remonstrances, to try out oil, though several of them refused; swearing they would not work, unnecessarily, on a day rendered solemn by the burial of their captain. All this served to increase the general discontent on board.

On Saturday, the 23d of August, the Port au Prince weighed anchor, having laid in a considerable quantity of oil, and stood out of the bay. The O'Caen still lay at anchor. On Monday, the 25th, she came to an anchor at the Benito Islands, where she remained till Monday, the 15th of September, having salted and laid in 8338 seal skins. During this time she received from the captain of the O'Caen a present of two deer, of which he had discovered a considerable number in the interior of the island.

On Monday, the 15th of September, the Port au Prince weighed anchor. The following day the ship was found to make more water than usual, from a leak in her larboard bow. On

000 Wednesday the island of Guadaloupe appeared within sight, in lat. 28. 48. N. long. 118. 30. W. bearing N. N. E. four or five leagues. The leak was now found to have increased two inches per hour more than its usual quantity. The next day a boat was sent to sound under the lee of the island for an anchorage; she returned, however, with a very indifferent account of it, and reported to have found neither seals nor sea-elephants.

On Friday the 19th of September the ship stood out to sea, taking a fresh departure from this place, for the island of Owhyee. The leak was now found to have increased so as to be at the rate of seventeen feet in twenty-four hours. On Saturday the 27th it was found to be considerably decreased; although it had been blowing fresh for three days.

On Sunday the 28th of September, at 6 A. M. Owhyee appeared within sight bearing W. by N. 20 leagues: the ship was now hauling up for the north end of the island. During the night she kept a shore course: several lights were perceived in different parts of the island. The next day at noon a number of the natives came on board, and shewed tokens of great friendship. At eight o'clock in the evening the ship anchored in Toeigh bay, and traded with the natives. On Thursday the ninth of October she weighed anchor, and made sail from Owhyee, for Woahoo; and on Friday at noon came to an anchor in Anahooroo bay. Whilst waiting for an opportunity to enter the close harbour, the inhabitants came on board and traded. In the mean time, the chief of the island, hearing that they had a sick man on board, refused them permission to enter the close harbour, being afraid of introducing disease into the country, which calamity had happened on a former occasion, from an American ship. Although the sick man died a few days afterwards, the permission was not granted.

On Sunday the 26th of October, the vessel being plentifully stocked with hogs, fowls, plantains, sweet potatoes, tarra, &c. she weighed anchor, and proceeded towards Otaheite, having received eight of the natives on board, who offered their services, as she was in want of hands on account of the leak. This last mentioned island was the nearest where assistance was to be expected. As she proceeded on her course, the leak was alarmingly increased to the rate of nine inches and a half per hour. In order to ease the ship, it became necessary to remove the carronades from off the quarter-deck, down below; the try-works were also taken down, and the bricks thrown overboard.

On Tuesday the 18th of November, as well as several days preceding, the pumps were

000 obliged to be worked every half hour out of two.
114 By this time finding she had missed Otaheite,
by reason of an adverse current, she steered to
the westward for the Tonga islands, and on
Thursday the 27th of November saw that part
of them called the Hapai islands, bearing W. 12
miles. The leak had now increased to eighteen
inches per hour.

On Saturday, the 29th of November, 1806, at
4 P. M. the Port au Prince brought to, for the
last time, in 7 fathoms water at the N. W. point
of one of the Hapai islands, called Lefooga, in
the same place where Captain Cook had formerly
921 anchored. In the evening a number of Indian
chiefs came on board with a large barbacued
609 hog, and a quantity of ready dressed yams, as a
114 present to the ship's company: with them came
[431] a native of Owhyee, who spoke a little English,
which he had formerly learned on board an
American ship, that had taken him from the
Sandwich islands to Manilla, and thence had
brought him to the Tonga islands. This man,
whose name was Tooi Tooi, and whom we shall
hereafter have occasion to speak of, endeavoured,
by all the means of expression that lay
in his power, to convince the ship's company
that the natives were disposed towards them in
the most friendly manner. Another Sandwich
islander, however, whom the Port au Prince had
brought along with her, as may be recollected,

with seven others, from Anahooroo bay, de- 609
clared his opinion that the Indians had hostile 721
intentions, and he advised Mr. Brown to keep a 114
watchful eye over them, and even to send all out
of the ship, excepting a few chiefs, by treating
whom in a friendly way, the produce of the
islands might be procured. Mr. Brown, how- 114
ever, disregarded this sage admonition, ordered
the man to quit the quarter-deck, and even
threatened to flog him—a treatment which the
poor fellow little deserved, for his opinion of the
natives was but too well founded, although his
less honest countryman Tooi Tooi had spoken
so well of them: and had not Mr. Brown un-
fortunately been above receiving good advice,
the Port au Prince might again have reached
England in safety, and thus he might have
preserved his own life, and the lives of many
others.

On Sunday morning, the 30th of November, [609
the men were ordered to be busily engaged in 721]
careening the vessel, at which they all demurred, and some absolutely refused, being desirous of going on shore, as they had been accustomed to do, on Sundays, at whatever place they had touched at during the voyage; and to this they were further encouraged by the pernicious invitations of the natives. It is indeed sometimes extremely difficult, under such circumstances,

114 to preserve good order and prompt obedience among the men; and yet the state of the ship, at this time, perhaps, fully required the greatest exertions, and the most watchful care. Mr. Brown, irritated by these symptoms of discontent, the fault of which was in no small degree to be laid to his own account, seemed to have less use of his judgment, at a time when he required it most. The men came aft, to request permission to go on shore: this he peremptorily refused, telling them they might go to H—l if they pleased, but that they should not go on shore till the work was done on board, and ordered them immediately to quit the quarter-deck: they instantly complied. A short time after James Kelly jumped up on the gang-way with a Spanish stiletto in his hand, and swore by G— he would run the first ——— through who attempted to stop him; he then hailed a canoe: his example was instantly followed by three others, George Wood (the carpenter's mate, who swore he would never rig the pumps again), William Baker, and James Hoay, taking with them all their clothes. Not much time elapsed
721 before fifteen others took the same step. In the afternoon the remainder of the crew came aft,
114 with a complaint that a considerable number of the natives had assembled between decks, armed with clubs and spears, and whose behaviour

gave ample grounds to suspect that they intended to take the vessel. This was indeed their object, having already digested their plan, which Mr. Mariner afterwards learned from a young chief named Vaca-ta-Bola: it will be well to relate it here in its proper place, although they did not at this time succeed. During the present interval, Vaca-ta-Bola and another chief were sitting in the cabin with Mr. Brown, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Mariner. Whilst they were here a canoe was to come under the stern, and Vaca-ta-Bola was to rise up suddenly and call out with seeming great earnestness to the people in the canoe; on which it may be supposed that Mr. Brown and Mr. Dixon would naturally turn their heads, out of curiosity, to see what was going forward in the canoe, at which moment the two chiefs were to knock them down, with short iron-wood clubs, which they had concealed under their dress. Before the canoe arrived, however, Mr. Mariner happening to go into the steerage was met by the men, who were coming, as before stated, to inform Mr. Brown of the threatening appearance of the natives. Mr. Brown seemed at first not much inclined to pay attention even to this new warning of danger; but when Mr. Mariner assured him that what the men stated was correct, and that, at all events, it would be but common

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114

721 114 prudence to inquire into it, and satisfy their apprehensions, he went upon deck, leading Vaca-ta-Bola by the hand: Mr. Dixon and the other chief followed. During this time Mr. Mariner could not help observing that the two chiefs turned pale, and were evidently much agitated; which he attributed to fear, occasioned by the bustle which appeared, without their understanding the cause: though the truth was they imagined their plot discovered, and their fate inevitable. When they arrived upon deck, and were given to understand that Mr. Brown did not like to have so many men on board armed with clubs and spears, they pretended to interest themselves very much in throwing their arms overboard, and in ordering the natives out of the ship. Mr. Mariner, in the mean while, noticed that they took great care not to throw away the best and most handy clubs, but contrived to get them safe into the canoes, by passing them from one to another: this he also attributed to a wrong motive, imagining that they wished to save them merely on account of their goodness, whilst the bad ones they threw away without reluctance. Mr. Brown, with a view of wearing also a pacific appearance, ordered the tomahawks, boarding-pikes, and other arms, to be removed below.

114 In the evening, after the natives had gone on

shore, the carpenter and sail-maker spoke to 114
Mr. Brown on the propriety of having the mus-
kets up, and placing centinels on deck to keep
the natives off, as their number prevented them
from working; but, unfortunately, too self-
willed and obstinate in error, he treated every
wholesome admonition with indifference, and ac-
cordingly no such measures were taken.

The following fatal day, Monday, the 1st 121
December, 1806, at eight o'clock in the morn- 114
ing, the natives began to assemble on board,
and soon increased to 300 in different parts of
the ship. About nine o'clock Tooi Tooi, the
Sandwich islander, before mentioned as having
endeavoured to inspire the ship's company with
a good opinion of the friendly disposition of the
natives, came on board, and invited Mr. Brown
to go on shore and view the country: he imme-
diately complied, and went unarmed. About 126
half an hour after he had left the ship, Mr. Ma-
riner, who was in the steerage, went to the hatch 114
for the sake of the light, as he was about to mend
a pen; looking up, he saw Mr. Dixon standing
on a gun, endeavouring, by his signs, to prevent
more of the natives coming on board: at this
moment he heard a loud shout from the Indians,
and saw one of them knock Mr. Dixon down
with a club: seeing now too clearly what was
the matter, he turned about to run towards the

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gun-room, when an Indian caught hold of him by the hand: he luckily escaped from his grasp, ran down the scuttle, and reached the gun-room, where he found the cooper: but considering the magazine the safest place, they ran immediately there; and having consulted what was best to be done, they came to the resolution of blowing up the vessel, and, like Samson of old, to sacrifice themselves and their enemies together. Bent upon this bold and heroic enterprise *, Mr. Mariner repaired to the gun-room to procure flint and steel, but was not able to get at the muskets without making too much noise, for the arm-chest lay beneath the boarding-pikes, which had carelessly been thrown down the scuttle the preceding evening: the noise occasioned by clearing them away, as the uproar above began to cease, would undoubtedly have attracted the notice of the Indians; he therefore returned to the magazine, where he found the cooper in great distress from the apprehension of his impending fate. Mr. Mariner next proposed that they should go at once upon deck, and be killed quickly, while their enemies were still hot with

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* Lest this should be thought a rash and presumptuous conduct, as sacrificing their own lives unnecessarily, it should be considered that it would be almost a certain preventive of such conspiracies for the future, when those on shore would witness the sudden and awful fate so unexpectedly attending the perpetrators.

slaughter, rather than by greater delay subject 726
themselves to the cruelties of cooler barbarity. 114
After some hesitation, the cooper consented to follow if Mr. Mariner would lead the way. The latter thereupon went up into the gun-room, and lifting up the hatch a little, saw Tooi Tooi and Vaca-ta-Bola examining Captain Duck's sword and other arms that were in his bed-place. Their backs being turned, he lifted off 727
the hatch entirely, and jumped up into the cabin: Tooi Tooi instantly turning round, Mr. Mariner presented his hands open, to signify that he was unarmed and at their mercy: he then uttered *aroghah!* (a word of friendly salutation among the Sandwich islanders) and asked him partly in English, and partly in his own language, if he meant to kill him, as he was ready to meet his fate. Tooi Tooi replied in broken English, that he should not be hurt, as the chiefs were already in possession of the ship, but that he wished to be informed how many persons there were below, to which Mr. Mariner answered, that there was only one, and then called up the cooper, who had not followed him the whole way. Tooi Tooi led them upon deck towards one of the chiefs who had the direction of the conspiracy. The first object that struck Mr. Mariner's sight, on coming upon deck, was enough to thrill the stoutest heart: there sat upon the companion a

121 short squab naked figure, of about fifty years of age, with a seaman's jacket, soaked with blood, thrown over one shoulder, on the other rested his iron-wood club, spattered with blood and brains,—and what increased the frightfulness of his appearance was a constant blinking with one of his eyes, and a horrible convulsive motion on one side of his mouth. On another part of the deck there lay twenty-two bodies perfectly naked, and arranged side by side in even order. They were so dreadfully bruised and battered about the head, that only two or three of them could be recognized. At this time a man had just counted them, and was reporting the number to the chief, who sat in the hammock-nettings; immediately after which they began to throw them overboard. Mr. Mariner and the cooper were now brought into the presence of the chief, who looked at them awhile and smiled, probably on account of their dirty appearance. Mr. Mariner was then given in charge to a petty chief to be taken on shore, but the cooper was detained on board.

In his way to the shore the chief took his shirt from his back. The circumstance of his having just escaped death was by no means a consolation to him: reserved for he knew not what hardships, he felt his mind hardened by a sort of careless indifference as to what might happen; if he had any consoling hope at all, it was that he might be going on shore to fall by the club of some sanguinary chief not sated with that day's slaughter. His companions, for ought he knew, were all killed; at least, he was morally certain that himself and the cooper* were the only persons living of all who were on board at the time this most bloody massacre was perpetrated: and as to those, who, from bad or injudicious motives, had left the ship the day before, they were probably, by this time at least, secured, and waiting, like himself, with anxious desire to know whether speedy death or degrading slavery was to be their portion.

In a little while he was landed, and led to the most northern part of the island, a place called Co-oolo, where he saw, without being much affected at the sight, the cause of all that day's disasters, Mr. Brown, the whaling master, lying dead upon the beach: the body was naked, and much bruised about the head and chest. They asked Mr. Mariner, by words and signs, if they had done right in killing him;—as he returned them no answer, one of them lifted up his club

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* There were two others, the boatswain, and one of the crew, who were on board at the time, and also escaped; but they were taken on shore before Mr. Mariner and the cooper made their appearance upon deck. This circumstance he did not know till some time afterwards.

121 to knock out his brains, but was prevented by a superior chief, who ordered them to take their prisoner on board a large sailing canoe. Whilst here, he observed upon the beach an old man, whose countenance did not speak much in his favour, parading up and down with a large club
[104] in his hand. At this time a boy, who had just come into the canoe, pointed to a fire at a little distance, and addressing himself to Mr. Mariner, pronounced the word *máte** (meaning to kill), and made such signs that could give him to understand nothing less than that he was to be killed and roasted: this idea roused him from his state of mental torpor, and gave him some alarm, which was not lessened by the sight of the old man just mentioned, who appeared in no other light than that of an executioner waiting for his victim. About half an hour afterwards a number of people came to the canoe, landed him, and led him towards the fire, near which he saw, lying dead, James Kelly, William Baker, and James Hoay, three of those who had first mutinied. Some hogs were now brought to be cooked; and Mr. Mariner was pretty well undeceived respecting what he had understood from the gestures of the boy in the canoe, who,

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* The word *máte* (pronounced something like *mártay*) is the common word throughout the South Sea Islands for "to kill;" and Mr. M. had learnt it at the Sandwich Islands.

it was now sufficiently evident, merely meant to [121] imply that some of Mr. Mariner's countrymen lay dead where he pointed, and that they were going to roast or bake some hogs there.

From this place he was led towards the island of Foa. On the way they stopped at a hut, where they stripped him of his trowsers, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations to retain them; for he already felt the effect of the sun upon his back, and dreaded a total exposure to its heat. He was now led about bare-footed, and without any thing to cover him, the heat blistering his skin in a most shocking manner. Every now and then some or other of the natives came up to him from motives of curiosity, felt his skin to compare it with their own, or likened it rather (as he afterwards understood) to the skin of a scraped hog, from its whiteness: from malice or rather wantonness they spat upon him, pushed him about, and threw sticks and cocoa-nut shells at him, so that his head was cut in several places. After having thus tantalized and [291] led him about for a considerable length of time, as fast as the soreness of his feet would permit him to walk, a woman happening to pass near at hand, from motives of compassion gave him an apron made of the leaves of the chee-tree, with which he was permitted to cover himself. Coming at length to a hut, they entered and sat [276]

[576]

727 down to drink cava*, putting him in a corner,
[276] and desiring him by signs to sit down, it being
[576] considered very disrespectful to stand up before
a superior; the principle of which point of etiquette
will be explained in another place. Whilst
his persecutors were thus regaling themselves,
a man entered the hut in great haste; and having
said something to the company, took Mr. Mariner
727 away with him. As they were going along
634 they met one of the Sandwich islanders, whom
the Port au Prince had brought from Anahooro
Bay, who gave Mr. Mariner to understand that Finow, the king of the islands, had sent for him. When he arrived in the king's presence, the king beckoned to him, and made signs that he should sit near him. As he entered the place, the king's women, who sat at the other end of the room, at the sight of him in the deplorable condition in which he was, with one voice uttered a cry of pity, beating their breasts, and exclaiming, *O yaoo! chiodofa!* Alas! poor young man! Fortunately for Mr. Mariner, Finow had taken an extraordinary liking to him from the first moment he had seen him on board; he thought he was the captain's son, or at least a young chief of some consequence in his own country; and

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* An infusion of the root of a species of the pepper plant, the mode of preparing which, and ceremony of drinking it, will be described hereafter in a more proper place.

he accordingly had given orders, that if they 727
found it necessary to kill the white men, they 634
should, at any rate, preserve Mr. Mariner's life.
The king put his nose to his forehead (a mark [576]
of friendly salutation;) and soon after observing
that he was very dirty, and much wounded, he desired one of his women attendants to take him to a pond within the fencing of the house, where
he might wash himself. Here he made himself 727
as clean as mere water could make him; but 515
finding the dirt did not come readily off his feet, she brought some sand, and began to scrub them with it: when he complained that this hurt him, she said something, which, at that time, he did not clearly understand, implying, that such was
the Tonga mode of washing. Being now pretty 727
well washed, he again came in presence of the 634
king, and was sent to the other end of the house, 515
where he was oiled all over with sandal-wood 302
oil, which felt very agreeable, alleviating the smart of his wounds, and greatly refreshing him. He now received a mat to lie down on, where, overcome by fatigue, both of mind and body, he soon fell fast asleep. During the night he was awakened by one of the women, who brought him some baked pork and some yam; but being somehow prejudiced against the pork, lest it should be human flesh, he did not taste it, but ate heartily of the yam, not having tasted any thing since breakfast the preceding day.

721 [766] [302] On getting up the next morning, he was much surprised at perceiving every body with their heads shaved: a practice which is always adopted at the burial of Tooitonga, a great personage hereafter to be described, whose funeral was performed that day.

In the course of the morning Finow took him on board the ship, where he was much gratified in meeting several of the crew, who had been ordered on board to bring the ship close in shore. The king's orders being understood, they cut the cables, and worked her in shore, through a very narrow passage, so full of rocks and shoals, that, untried, it would have been considered unnavigable. Through the medium of Tooi Tooi the king had been previously informed, that unless his men (which were about 400 in number) were to sit down, and remain perfectly quiet, it would be impossible to work the ship, the Englishmen being only about fourteen in number. The moment Finow had given orders to his men, he was most implicitly obeyed; they sat down, and not a word was spoken, nor the least perceptible noise made by them during the whole time, no more than if none of them were on board. The ship was brought within half a cable's length of the shore, through the narrow passage just mentioned, and run aground according to Finow's orders.

CHAPTER III.

The ship plundered by Finow's orders—Accidents on board—The ship burned—Guns hauled on shore—Visit to the Island of Whiha—Surprise of the natives at the sight of a watch—Mr. Mariner deprived of his books and papers, as being considered instruments of witchcraft—Anecdote of the missionaries—Remarks on the present state of the islands, compared with that when Captain Cook visited them—Political history of the islands during the foregoing twelve or fifteen years, viz. *Expedition to the Fiji Islands—Insurrection at Tonga—Assassination of the king—Civil war—Return of the expedition to the Fiji Islands, which joins the insurgents—Finow conquers the Hapai Islands—His cruelty towards his prisoners—Annual invasion of the Island of Tonga*—Mr. Mariner and his companions receive orders to join an expedition against the Island of Tonga, and to employ the guns—Anecdote of an insane woman—Finow's fleet sails for Namooca—The fleet arrives off a consecrated place at Tonga—Description of a ceremony called Toogi—Preparations for battle—Description of the fortification of Nioocalofa. 000

After the ship was run aground, the following two or three days were employed in striking the masts, and conveying on shore two of the carronades and eight barrels of gunpowder; all that remained was too much damaged for use. Many of the natives, in the mean while, were busily engaged in stripping the upper works of their iron, and knocking the hoops off 727

727 the casks in the hold; iron being a most valuable commodity to them. During these operations [165] the ground tier of oil, the hoops being knocked off the casks, burst out, and suffocated eight of the natives. In consequence of this great discharge of oil, the water in the hold was covered with it, to the depth of two feet. Two men, who had struggled out of this body of water and oil, strongly expressed their amazement (as they afterwards explained themselves to Mr. Mariner, when he understood their language) at the difficulty they experienced in rising through the oil: they could swim in the water below easily enough, but as soon as they emerged from the water into the stratum of oil above, the less specific gravity of the latter rendered their ascent difficult. They comprehended the reason, however, very well, as soon as he had learned the language sufficiently to explain it to [164] them. Three other men were at the same time severely wounded, by some butts bursting out on them while they were in the act of knocking off the hoops.

727 684 689 761 Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed in cutting out the iron fid from the main top-gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work; so speaking to a Sandwich islander, who

was amusing himself on deck by firing off his 727
musket*, he bade him try to bring that man 634
down from aloft: without the least hesitation 689
he levelled his piece, and instantly brought him 761
down dead: the shot entered his body, and the
fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull;
upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed
mightily pleased at the facility with which it
was done. When Mr. Mariner understood the [565]
language, he asked the king how he could be so [252]
cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a
fault: his majesty replied that he was only a
low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither
his life nor death was of any consequence to
society†.

On Tuesday, the 9th of December, it being 727
spring-tides, the ship floated, and was warped
in to low water mark. In the evening they set
fire to her, in order to get more easily afterwards at the iron work. All the great guns on
board were loaded, and as they began to be
heated by the general conflagration they went
off, one after another, producing a terrible panic
among all the natives. Mr. Mariner was, at

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* The Sandwich islanders are pretty well acquainted with the use of fire-arms: their chief had, at that time, 2000 stand of muskets, procured at different times from American ships.

† The lower orders are thought to have no souls, and a cook [774]
is considered the most vulgar profession among them; while [335]
a carpenter is esteemed the most respectable. [554]

121 this time, asleep at a house near the shore: being soon, however, awakened by the noise of the guns, he saw several of the natives running into the house, in a great fright; they, no doubt, thought every thing was going to wreck and ruin: seeing their distress, he gave them to understand, by signs, that nothing was to be feared, and that they might go to sleep in safety. After the guns had ceased firing he went down to the beach, and found the ship burnt to the water's edge. He walked to the house again, filled with melancholy reflections, and retiring to his mat, sleep at length brought a temporary relief to his afflictions.

The next day, as soon as it was daylight, the natives flocked to the beach, and by the direction and assistance of Mr. Mariner and some of the crew, got five of the carronades on shore, by tying a rope round them, and dragging them with the main strength of two or three hundred men. A few days afterwards three more carronades were brought on shore in like manner, and also four long guns, but which, on account of their weight, were never afterwards made use of.

About a week now elapsed, without any material circumstance occurring; during which time Mr. Mariner kept, for the most part, within doors, by the advice of Finow, lest he should

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be injured by the wantonness or malice of the 727
lower orders, who took every opportunity of insulting him. On the 16th of December, Finow, 727
having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for 634
the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. Ma- 484
riner to accompany him. The inhabitants of 224
this island made great rejoicings on account of [527]
Finow's arrival. He remained there three or [223]
four days, spending the time principally in shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Ma- 401
riner his watch, which they had procured from 727
out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity in- 177
quired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

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* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the [262]
lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement.

401 a sharp stone, for Mr. Mariner to force it open
727 with; he opened it in the proper way, and
shewed them the works; several endeavoured
177 to seize hold of it at once, and he who got it ran
away with it, and all the rest after him. In
about an hour they returned with the watch
completely broken to pieces. One had the case,
another the broken dial, and the wheels and
works were distributed among them. They then
gave him the fragments, and made signs to him
to put it together, and make it do as it did before:
upon which he gave them to understand
that they had killed it, and that it was impossible
to bring it to life again. The man who considered
it his property exclaimed *mow-mow*
(spoiled!), and made a hissing noise, expressive
of disappointment: he accused the rest of using
violence, and they in return accused him and
401 one another. Whilst they were thus in high
727 dispute there came another native, who had seen
177 and learned the use of a watch on board a French
805 ship; when he understood the cause of their dispute,
he called them all *cow valè* (a pack of
fools), and explained, in the following manner,
the use of the watch: making a circle in the
sand, with sundry marks about its circumference,
and turning a stick about the centre of
the circle, to represent an index, he informed
them that the use of the watch was to tell where

the sun was; that when the sun was in the east 401
the watch would point to such a mark, and when 727
the sun was highest it would point here, and
when in the west it would point there; and 177
this, he said, the watch would do, although it 805
was in a house, and could not see the sun; and in the night-time, he added, it would tell what portion of a day's length it would be before the sun would rise again. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of their astonishment: one said it was an animal, another said it was a plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnooa boto!* what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an European).

About the 20th of December, Mr. Mariner 727
returned to Lefooga along with Finow. His life was still not only uncomfortable, but often exposed to many dangers, or, at best, he suffered many insults from the wantonness and malevolence of the lower orders. Tooi Tooi was by [829]
no means his friend, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to persuade Finow to kill both him and the other Englishmen; lest a ship should

727 arrive, and learning from them the fate of the Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the
829 injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

177 As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few
754 printed books and some writing paper, he was
797 often found by Finow either writing or reading:
829 one day the latter desired him to give up all his
727 books and papers; which, when he had done, with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi 177
Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards 754
understood the language, the king explained to 797
him his opinion of books and papers, and gave 829
his reasons for that opinion, in the following 727
account.

"Some years ago, on the arrival of an Euro- 177
"pean vessel, one of the white men came to 754
"live among them by choice. This man's 797
"name was Morgan. He lived for a considera- 829
"ble time on terms of great friendship with "the natives, and was much respected by them. "Some time afterwards there came another European vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries,) "and from this ship also "there came several white men, to live by "choice among them. The white men that "came last built a house, in which they used often "to shut themselves up, to sing and perform "ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters "went on very well for some time: at length a "quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other "white men, at first about an iron pot which he "wanted to borrow of them, and then about "some pigs which they said he had stolen from "them: upon this they informed the chiefs that "this Morgan had been a bad man in his own "country, and was under sentence of banishment for his crimes; but from the full execu-

177 “ tion of which he had escaped.” (He had actually
754 escaped from Botany Bay.) “ The people
797 “ then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 “ of insult, so that his life was very uncomfortable,
“ and often in great danger. Morgan
“ in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz.
“ that they were men sent out by the king of
“ England to bring a pestilence upon the people
“ of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut
“ themselves up in this house, to perform witchcraft,
“ and make incantations, which was the
“ cause of the pestilence that then raged:”
164 (there was an epidemic disease at the time,
731 which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or
three dying every day) “ and that all their
“ books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs
“ began to take Morgan's statement into serious
“ consideration; there certainly was a great
“ mortality among them: the white men often
“ assembled, and sang very loud; besides which,
“ they would not let the Tonga people be present;
“ and to prevent them even from peeping
“ through the crevices of the reed fencing of
“ the house, they stopt them up with all kinds
“ of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the
“ Tonga people would not then allow them even
“ to approach. And the chiefs said to themselves,
“ if these people are doing no harm, why
“ do not they allow us to be present? we do

"not conceal our ceremonies from them, why 177
"do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean 754
"while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the 797
"'effect of their incantations; several of you 829
"'are dying every day; by and by you will be
"'all cut off, and the king of England will take
"'possession of your islands; for although you
"'have the remedy in your power, you will not
"'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm [721]
"in time; they rushed upon the white men, [727]
"and killed all but three*, who were at that
"time under the protection of Veachi;" a
great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the mission- 727
aries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, 797
who often afterwards heard the same relation
from other chiefs. He inquired what became 727
of the three that were under the protection of
Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during 669
a civil war: they might indeed have made their 797
escape, along with some natives who invited them into a canoe, which was going to another island, but they chose to remain; urging for their reason that they had not quarrelled with any of the Tonga people, and that consequently they should not be hurt; the others informed them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

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* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

727 669 797 not only to kill an enemy, but also all his friends and relations, if possible: the three missionaries then replied that as they had done no harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them: at this moment, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears. The natives in the canoe pushed off from the shore, and made their escape.—How necessary it is to know the customs of the country! how baneful it is to be presumptuous! Our best intentions may be ruined by the ignorance of the one, and influence of the other.

727 574 But to return from this digression; Mr. Mariner, and his companions, ignorant of the language of the country, and of the customs of the people, were often much distressed for want of food: sometimes indeed it was brought to them, but often not; sometimes they were invited by the natives to walk into their houses and eat with them; but frequently they seemed to be quite neglected, and were reduced to the necessity of procuring what they wanted by stealth. [829] At length, through Tooi Tooi's interpretation, Mr. Mariner made known their wants to the king, upon which the latter seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and inquired how food was obtained in England: and when he heard that every man procured the necessary

supplies for himself and family by purchase, and 727
that his friends, for the most part, only partook 574
by invitation, and that strangers were scarcely 829
ever invited, unless with a view of forming an acquaintance, he laughed at what he called the ill-nature and selfishness of the white people; and told Mr. Mariner that the Tonga custom was far better, and that he had nothing to do when he felt himself hungry but to go into any house where eating and drinking were going forward, seat himself down without invitation, and partake with the company. After this, the generality of the natives made this selfishness, as they considered it, of the Europeans quite proverbial; and when any stranger came into their houses to eat with them, they would say jocosely, No! we shall treat you after the manner of the Papalangis A; go home, and eat what *you* have got, and we shall eat what *we* have got!

Mr. Mariner and his companions, about five 727
in number, (for the others were dispersed upon different islands) began now to be heartily tired of their way of life, and requested the king to give them a large canoe, that they might rig it as a sloop, and, with his permission, endeavour to make Norfolk Island on their way to New Holland; but this he refused, under pretext that the canoe would be too weak to stand the sea. On farther solicitation, however, he gave

A [Europeans--Analyst]

721 them leave to build a vessel for the express purpose, but in the progress of the work happening unfortunately to notch one of their axes, he refused any longer the use of them.

Thus cut off from all present hopes of escape, it became more than ever necessary to conform their minds to the manners and customs of the people whom they were among; but in a short time the ever changing events of war served to create a degree of activity in the mind, destructive of disagreeable reflections, and fruitless regrets.

128 As we are now about to enter upon a new scene of things, in which the political interests of these islands are particularly concerned, it becomes necessary to afford a general view of their history, from the time of Captain Cook; and particularly for the twelve or fifteen years previous to Mr. Mariner's arrival there, with a view to understand perfectly the state of things as he found it.

175 At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands, the habits of war were little known to
721 the natives; the only quarrels in which they
648 had at that time been engaged were among the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, about 120 leagues to the westward; for having been in the habit of visiting them for sandal wood, &c. they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike par-

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows 175
which before that period had been in use among 721
the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and 648
fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose
of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the 175
fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, 177
ever, they speedily learned to construct bows 411
and arrows of a much more martial and formidable
nature; and soon became acquainted with
a better form of the spear, and a superior method
of holding and throwing that missile weapon.
They also imitated them by degrees in 175
the practice of painting their faces, and the use 177
of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce [714]
appearance, calculated to strike terror into the
minds of their enemies. These martial improvements [579]
were in their progress at the time of Captain
Cook's arrival, but not in general practice;
for having few or no civil dissensions among
themselves, the knowledge of these things was
confined principally to certain young chiefs and
their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands.
Captain Cook describes some evolutions prac- [721]
tised by the natives as being forms of war, and [535]
indeed they have that appearance; but they [524]
are to be considered rather as games and
dances, which the Tonga people had learnt
from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest 175
natives could give any account of their first dis- 648

[A] [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

175 covery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to
648 those islands before the Fiji people came to
them: perhaps their canoes were drifted there
by strong easterly winds.—Since Captain Cook's
time, a certain chief at the island of Tonga*,
where all the principal chiefs at that time resided,
and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai,
having by former visits contracted the warlike
habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the
peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was
therefore determined to repair again to those
islands, in company with a number of young
175 men of the same unquiet disposition. They
721 were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and
strife were the noble employments of men, and
[177] ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by
the weak and effeminate. Tooi Hala Fatai accordingly
[484] set sail with his followers, about 250
in number, in three large canoes, for the island
of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the
place, but to join one party or the other, and
rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives,
and in short to do any thing that was, accord-

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[101] * It must be observed that Tonga is the name of one of
the largest of this cluster of islands, and that it gives name to
all these islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes
gives name to a country; and that it must be received
in this latter sense wherever the words "island of" are not
used before it.

ing to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. 175
To give an instance of the spirit of these young 721
men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on [484
one occasion, during the night, undermined a 579]
storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working their way up into the place, emptied it of every thing it contained; not that they wanted these things, for they were all independent chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their
amusement. They had previously taken an [782
oath, by their respective tutelar Gods and their 626]
fathers, not to betray one another under penalty
of death; and if on these occasions they met with a stranger, who would not readily enter into their views, they put it out of his power to discover them, by dispatching him without farther ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them: and as many of these islands were not only at war with one another, but also had civil dissensions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, one with another, (and this was the case in several of them) the new comers found a choice of employment ready prepared for them.

175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were
not contented with joining the wars of others,
but entered into one of their own, for the greater
acquirement of plunder: and their superior bravery
[484] rendered them very successful. Tired at
length with their long absence from home, they
[177] returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes
behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage
however they experienced a heavy gale,
during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
the remainder at the island of Tonga, they
669 found the place in a state of insurrection; the
cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's
175 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
669 throne; but had held the reins of government
643 not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
669 every opportunity to exert his authority; and
643 frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton:
644 as an instance of which, he on one occasion
304 gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,)
that twelve of his cooks, who were always in
waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava,
should undergo the amputation of their left

arms, merely to distinguish them from other 175
men, and for the vanity of rendering himself 669
singular by this extraordinary exercise of his 643
authority. This and many other acts of cruelty [644]
laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a
complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga. [304]

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of 175
Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly op- 669
pressed by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at 643
length he determined to be free, or to die in 634
the attempt. With this view he often conversed with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spurring him on to the same resolution; with the declaration, that if he would not assist him, he would manage the whole conspiracy himself. Led on partly by these persuasions, but principally by his own private views, Finow entered
into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening 175
these two, attended by several of their usual 669
followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now 643
and then customary, to pay their respects to 634
him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo*[*], a pig, 726
and several baskets of yams; they then retired. [723]
This served as a plausible reason for their being [431]
that night in the neighbourhood of the king's residence. About midnight they again repaired

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[*] The material of their wearing apparel.

175 to his house with their followers, whom they
669 placed around it as watchful guards, ready to
643 dispatch all who might attempt to escape from
726 the place: of these Finow took the command,
634 whilst Toobó Nuha entered, armed with his axe,
[644] and burning with desire of revenge. As he
passed along, on either hand lay the wives and
[302] favourite mistresses of the king, the matchless
[301] beauties of Tonga, perfumed with the aroma of
sandal wood, and their necks strung with
wreaths of the freshest flowers: the sanguinary
chief could have wept over their fate,
but the freedom of his country was at stake,
and the opportunity was not to be lost*. He
sought the mat of his destined victim, where he
lay buried in the profoundest sleep: he stood
over him for a short moment, but willing that
he should know from whom he received his
death, he struck him with his hand upon the
face: Toogoo Ahoo started up,—"'Tis I,
Toobó Nuha, that strike," and a tremendous
blow felled him, never to rise again. Horror
and confusion immediately took place: Toobó

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* Such were the sentiments which he afterwards expressed
[727] to Mr. Mariner. The sacrifice of these women, however barbarous,
was strictly according to the general Tonga custom in
such cases; where not only the individual enemy is destroyed,
but also all who belong to him, even his women, that his
party may be weakened and distressed as much as possible.

Nuha snatched up the late king's adopted son, 726 175
(a child of three years old,) whom he was desirous 669
of saving, and rushed out of the house as the
guards of Finow rushed in, when speedy death 634
silenced the screams of those who a little before [643]
lay reposed in the arms of sleep.

The two chiefs and their followers betook themselves, as quickly as possible, to Hahagi, the northern part of the island. Early in the [202] morning confusion and dismay reigned in the island of Tonga—men and women ran they knew not whither, unknowing whether to join this party or that—old men were seen making speeches to the people, encouraging them to avenge the death of their chief:—the numerous relations and friends of the deceased king ran about beating their breasts and weeping:—shells were heard blowing in every quarter, as the signals of war and disturbance,—here to assemble the friends of the late How*,—there to summon together the partisans of liberty.

Finow and Toobó Nuha, in the course of a few hours, assembled together a considerable number of adherents, with whom, after having launched their canoes in case their retreat from the island should be necessary, they proceeded to Hihifo (the place where the How was killed). When they arrived here, their first concern was

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* King.

175 to destroy the enemy's canoes; and they suc-
669 ceeded in doing it, after some opposition. They
next directed their march to the place where
726 the loyalists were assembled, about three quar-
634 ters of a mile distant from Hihifo, and a general battle took place, which lasted till night, with great slaughter on both sides: Finow's party, however, was at length repulsed, and forced to fly back to Hahagi, where it remained till the evening of the ensuing day, when an event happened which reinforced its strength, and gave the allied chiefs and their followers fresh spirits for the combat; this was the arrival of the two canoes with Tooi Hala Fatai and his bold adventurers from the Fiji islands. This chief and his warlike companions, ever ready to enter into a new contest, immediately joined Finow, and swore allegiance to his cause. The very evening of their landing, however, their leader, Tooi Hala Fatai, felt himself much indisposed; and as his disorder hourly increased, he was seized with the apprehension that his complaint was mortal. With this idea strongly impressed upon his mind, he proposed that they should sally forth as early as possible the ensuing morning, to meet the enemy while he had any strength remaining, that by this means he might escape the bed of sickness and die gloriously in the field of battle. Scarcely had the sun risen, when

the three chiefs and their brave warriors were 795
already on their march towards Hihifo. *Their 669
equally brave and determined opponents met 726
them about half-way. Both paused as if in- 634
stinctively at the same moment. They summoned up their spirits to endure a mighty and bloody conflict: liberty on the one side, loyalty on the other, fired them with the desire of performing matchless achievements. The active and [703]
impetuous mind of Tooi Hala Fatai could brook no delay: anxious to set the glorious example of an heroic spirit, he and his Fiji warriors began the battle by rushing forward on a party of the enemy. Immediately the contest became general, with such unconquerable determination on both sides, that the plains of Tonga had perhaps

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* The following description of the battle is expressed in a [128]
style of language that may be thought not very consistent with the sobriety of historical narration: but I have ventured to do this, because the natives always describe this battle in the strongest terms, as the first and one of the most bloody that ever was fought. On one side were the late king's nearest relations bravely fighting, each in the secret hope of obtaining a kingdom; on the other side were three chiefs of unconquerable spirit, one fighting for dominion, another for his reputation as a patriot, and the third, with a fierce and warlike mind, for the honour and glory of a name, setting his life at no consideration whatsoever. The circumstances of this battle, as here described, are strictly as related by the natives. The language in which it is expressed, is, according to Mr. Mariner's judgment, suitable with the poetic descriptions which he heard of it. From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society" it appears that this battle was fought on the 29th of May, 1799.

175 never before witnessed so tremendous a shock.
669 The brave Toobó Nuha, inspired by the greatness
of his cause, with a resistless arm performed
726 prodigies of valour: when he stood, he stood
634 like a rock*—when he rushed, it was with the impetuosity of a hurricane: he raised his ponderous club only to give death his victim; and as he moved forward he strode over the bodies of fallen chiefs. In another part of the battle, Tooi Hala Fatai was seen moving onward in the path of victory; though he felt his strength gradually decreasing, yet the terror of his fiery eye paralysed the arms of his enemies; at length, fearful lest too speedy a conquest might deprive him of the opportunity of dying a warrior's death, he rushed with an exulting spirit into the thickest of the battle, and fell, pierced with spears, beneath the clubs of his adversaries. In the mean while, Finow was not an idle looker on: he fought with equal courage, but with a more steady and less presumptuous bravery; the greatest of his enemies fell beneath the weight of his club; and as his eye sated itself with the number of his opponents whom death had stretched upon the reeking plain, his ambitious mind, confident in victory, seemed already

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[192] * This is a phrase in use among them to express the firmness of a warrior in battle; *coe macca tofoo-be enne too,* a rock altogether (was) his standing.

to enjoy the sweets and power of monarchy. 175
The battle raged for about three hours, when, 669
by the extraordinary exertions and achieve- 726
ments principally of Toobó Nuha, who, as fame 634
reports, slew on that day forty with his own
hand,—the enemy became panic-struck, and fled
in all directions, conquered by that arm, which,
two days before, in giving Toogoo Ahoo his
death, had delivered the country from a tyrant. 634

Although the victory was so decisively in fa- 175
vour of Finow, it cost him the lives of many of 669
his bravest men, and so far lessened his numerical 727
strength, as to render it prudent not to pursue
the enemy. After a consultation with his ally,
it was agreed on to proceed immediately to the 175
Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and look to their 669
own possessions, rather than run the risk of losing 723
them and their lives too in a dangerous war at 634
the island of Tonga, where the partisans of the
late How were particularly strong. They ac- 175
cordingly set sail for the Hapai islands, and 669
landed at the nearest of them, Namooca, after
a slight resistance from a few of the adherents 726
of Toogoo Ahoo. They soon gained entire pos- 634
session of Namooca, and thence extended their
arms to the neighbouring islands, meeting with lit-
tle opposition, and gathering additional strength,
till they arrived at the island of Haano, where a
large body of the enemy were assembled and in

175 waiting ready to engage them. Here they had
669 an obstinate but decisive battle, which terminated
726 in favour of Finow. Thus was the
[634] conquest of all the Hapai islands secured, and
of which Finow was acknowledged king. In
this battle a number of chiefs and matabooles
175 (ministers and attendants of chiefs) were taken
669 prisoners, all of whom having been in the immediate
727 service of the late king, were, by the
[634] orders of Finow, put to death in various ways.
[565] Some were sent on board old and useless canoes,
which were then scuttled, and immediately sunk;
others were taken three or four leagues out to
sea, and being put in old leaky canoes, and tied
hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their
[634] fate. Those against whom Finow entertained
the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island
of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes
driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees,
and left to starve to death: whilst they were in
this miserable situation, it is painful to relate the
cruelty exercised towards them by some of the
natives of the place; it must, however, be acknowledged
that the ill treatment they received
was chiefly at the hands of thoughtless boys,
who would stick sharp splinters of wood into
their bodies, and tantalize them by showing
them provisions, without giving them any. Notwithstanding
their exposure to the raging heat

of the sun, several of them bore their torments 175
with the greatest fortitude, although lingering 669
till the eighth day; others of weaker constitu- 727
tion died in three or four days. Ever since that
time the natives of the place superstitiously [775]
believe that they can hear their groans frequently at different times during the night:—but this no doubt is occasioned by the roaring of the surf at a distance, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns, which, working upon the imagination, to a certain extent may resemble the groans of dying people *.

Finow, and his ally Toobó Nuha, after public 175
rejoicings at Haano, embarked for Vavaoo, 669
where they were allowed to land without opposi-
tion. The people of this island, however, had 726
heard of the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo by 634
a canoe from the Hapai islands, and were determined to resist the claims of Finow, not by an open war, but in a mode much more harassing and tedious; and he accordingly found the reduction of Vavaoo exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. The enemy, always avoiding a general engagement, frequently molested them with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day

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* The natives do not regard this as any thing awful, or as a memento of the crime of their chief, but as a matter of curiosity, without attempting to assign any reason for it.

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175 from their hiding-places. This mode of warfare
669 so exasperated Finow, who was not on such oc-
726 casions of the mildest temper, that he gave
[727] orders that all prisoners who were chiefs should
be reserved for future and exemplary punish-
[565] ment. The contest lasted about fourteen or
fifteen days, during which time the two chiefs
separated, and scoured the island all over, con-
quering wherever they met with opposition. At
[651] length Voona, the chief of Vavaoo, having fled
to Hamoa (the Navigator's islands) with a canoe
full of other chiefs, Finow found himself master
of the whole place, and was declared king, but
he gave up the government of it to Toobó Nuha,
as a sort of viceroy, to pay him an annual tri-
175 bute. The prisoners, at least all that were
669 chiefs, were punished and put to death by means
727 too revolting to the feelings to mention. All
affairs being settled at Vavaoo, Finow returned
to the Hapai islands, to meditate future attempts
upon the island of Tonga.

In the mean time affairs went on very badly
175 at Tonga: Toogoo Ahoo left neither son nor
669 brother to succeed him; but he had several
643 distant relations, who put in claims for the so-
vereignty: thus was a violent civil contention
induced, and the island was soon divided into
175 several petty states. In the course of a little
669 time, each party had built a fort for itself, so
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that there were at least twelve or thirteen different 175
garrisoned places upon the island; each, 669
in a state of warfare with all the rest, was determined
to maintain its claims as long as it had [712]
strength to do so. Thus was the island of [731]
Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger, torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse perhaps than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and sometimes upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and intrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of the Hapai people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo people, under that of Toobó Nuha, had never succeeded, at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not 175
only from Finow, but also from Toobo Nuha, 642
Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as 643
well also, though in detached portions, from 634
several of the inhabitants of the island of Tonga, 124
and has found an uniform agreement and con-

175 sistency in all their accounts. From this it will
642 appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit,
643 the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island
634 of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was
[124] under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose
[651] seat of government was on the island of Tonga,
and who received tributes from Finow, chief of
the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of
Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first
arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been
for several years, divided into various petty
states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow
was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,
and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the
latter place.

669 Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who
713 were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and
722 were four in number,) received orders from the
727 king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon
the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12
pound carronades. They immediately set to
work, to mount them upon new carriages with
high wheels, made by the native carpenters,
[726] under their directions. This being done, Finow

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[*] Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

expressed his opinion, that the gun was an in- 669
strument not well fitted (being too unwieldy) 719
for their mode of warfare, which consisted in 722
sudden attacks and retreats, according to cir- 726
cumstances, rather than in a steady engagement. 727
He very readily entered into an acknowledgment of the advantages of a steady contest, but was apprehensive that his men would not easily be brought to stand it. Mr. Mariner and his companions, however, promised that they and their countrymen (who were dispersed upon other islands,) would remain in the front of the battle with their four guns, provided the Tonga people would agree to stand fast and support them. The king assented to this on the part of his men, and a few days afterwards, when he reviewed them, he signified his wishes, and they swore to fulfil their duty.

In the mean time the Englishmen employed 669
themselves in collecting the shot which the na- 719
tives had brought from on board, but which they 722
had thrown aside, not being able to shape them 727
for any common purpose. They also cut up a quantity of sheet lead, and made it up in rolls
to be used as shot. During this time every 669
preparation was also making by the natives for 722
the approaching war: they repaired the sails of their canoes, collected their arrows, spears,

722 669 and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, 727 597 the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

158 At this time there lived in the island of Læfooga a female who for many years had been [782] afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

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* Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese [281] paper ~~mulberry tree~~.

in consequence of excessive grief, partly oc- 158
casioned by the death of a near relation, but 782
principally by her child having been taken from
her to be strangled as an offering to the gods,
for the recovery of his sick father*. As this 734
poor woman was considered of no use to so- 727
ciety, Finow was desirous that she should be put
out of the way; and as he was also anxious
again to witness the execution of a musket ball,
he one day desired Mr. Mariner to shoot her:
the latter entreated to be excused from this un-
grateful task, assuring the king that he was per-
fectly willing to risk his life in his service against
his enemies; but that it was quite contrary to
the sentiment of the religion in which he had
been brought up, and to the laws of his country,
to destroy an innocent fellow-creature in cold
blood. Finow immediately admitted the excuse,
without being at all offended, and the unfortu-
nate woman for that time escaped. A few days 734
afterwards, however, as she was walking about
upon the beach, Finow ordered a Sandwich
islander who was at hand with his musket to
shoot her: with ready acquiescence, he levelled
his piece and shot her dead upon the spot. Mr.
Mariner was at a little distance, and saw the
fact without having it in his power to prevent it.

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* This religious rite, will be described in another place.

734 She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very indecent and disrespectful.

722 All things being now prepared for the inva-
669 sion of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the
[782] priests assured Finow of success*. The large
[787] canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number,
[716] were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's
669 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty
726 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca the place of general rendezvous. These fifty sail under the direction of Finow, four of the largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded towards the appointed place; but on account of contrary winds were obliged to put
[714] into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity
[177] to review his men, most of them being painted

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* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji 669
islands. They paraded up and down for some 726
time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and [714
exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with 777]
several other chiefs in the house on the *malái**.
Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow,
and striking his club violently on the
ground, cried out "this is the club for ——,"
mentioning the name of some individual enemy
whom he meant particularly to seek out and
engage; others running up in the same way,
exclaimed, " Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall
" we land at Tonga than here is the club with
" which I will kill any one who dares to oppose
" us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for [537
their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then 703
he addressed them in a speech to the following 761]
purpose: " Be brave in battle; fear not death:
" it is far better to die in war than to live to
" be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering
disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this
island, they again put to sea with the additional
force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca,
where they arrived in a few hours. Here they [716]

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* The *malái* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, [344]
with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavaoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

778 Before morning, several presents were
[634] brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[431] living at a consecrated place on the island of
Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are
[764] the graves where the greatest chiefs from time immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on differ-
669 ent islands.

694 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his father's 726
grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 669
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 634
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 796
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves 769
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: "Behold the 796
"man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
"Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
"him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
"to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
"has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
"respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
"monies with exactness." One of the attendants
then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-place).
Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634
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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

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669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they re-
276 galed.

796 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on
712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh-
[669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island.
As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It con-
349 sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

on the inside by upright posts, from six to nine inches in diameter, and situated a foot and a half distant from each other; to which the reed-work is firmly lashed by tough sinnet, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut. This fencing is about nine feet in height, the post rising about a foot higher: it has four large entrances, as well as several small ones, secured on the inside by horizontal sliding pieces, made of the wood of the cocoa-nut tree. Over each door, as well as at other places, are erected platforms even with the top of the fencing, supported chiefly on the inside, but projecting forward to the extent of two or three feet: these platforms are about nine feet square, and situated fifteen yards distant from each other; and as they are intended for the men to stand on, to shoot arrows, or throw down large stones, they are also defended in front, and half way on each side, by a reed-work six feet high, with an opening in front, and others on either hand, for the greater convenience of throwing spears, &c. The lower fencing has also openings for a similar purpose. On the outside is a ditch of nearly twelve feet deep, and as much broad; which, at a little distance, is encompassed by another fencing similar to the first, with platforms, &c. on the outside of which there is a second ditch. The earth dug out of these ditches forms a bank on

712 each side, serving to deepen them. Opposite
349 each large doorway, there is no ditch dug.
[531] The inner and outer fencings are ornamented
profusely with white shells. Some of these fortifications are square, others round. That of Nioocalofa was round.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER IV.

Disembarkation of the forces—Siege of Nioocalofa—Destruction of the fortress—Cruelty of the conquerors—Description of the effect of the artillery—Embarkation for Pangaimotoo—Ceremony of invoking a God—Inspiration of a priest—Return to Tonga—The fortress rebuilt—Cannibalism—Garrison of Bea enters into alliance with Finow—Finow embarks again for Pangaimotoo, leaving the fortress in the care of the chief of Bea—Treachery of this chief—Return of the fleet to the Hapai islands—Astonishment of Finow at the mode of communicating sentiments by writing, with the circumstance that gave rise to it—A Tonga chief and his family join Finow—Arrival at Lefooga—Ceremony of Fuccalchi—Ceremony of marriage between Tooitonga and Finow's daughter. 000

FINOW being arrived with the whole of his fleet off Nioocalofa, and having with him, besides Mr. Mariner, fifteen other Englishmen, eight of whom were armed with muskets, he proceeded to land his troops under cover of a fire of musketry, which speedily drove almost all the enemy who had sallied forth back into the garrison. The first fire killed three, and wounded several; and a repetition of it threw them into such dismay, that in five minutes only forty of the bravest remained to molest them; and these began to retire, as the forces of Finow increased 669 726

669 726 on the beach. In the mean while, the carronades were dismounted from their carriages, slung on poles, and conveyed over a shallow reef to the shore. The whole army being landed, and the guns again mounted, the latter were drawn up before the garrison, and a regular fire was commenced. [634] Finow took his station on the reef, seated in an English chair, (from the Port au Prince) for his chiefs would not allow him to expose his person on shore. The fire of the carronades was kept up for about an hour: in the mean while, as it did not appear to do all the mischief to the exterior of the fortress, owing to the yielding nature of its materials, that the king expected, he sent for Mr. Mariner, and expressed his disappointment: the latter replied, that no doubt there was mischief enough done on the inside of the fort, wherever there were resisting bodies, such as canoes, the posts and beams of houses, &c.; and that it was already very evident the besieged had no reason to think slightly of the effect of the artillery, seeing that they had already greatly slackened their exertions, not half the number of arrows being now discharged from the fort; arising, in all probability, from the number of the slain, or of those who had fled up into the country. It was now resolved to set fire to the place; for which purpose a number of torches were pre-

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pared and lighted, and an attack was made upon the outer fencing; it was found, however, but weakly defended, and was soon taken: for the door-posts being shot away, an easy entrance was obtained. A considerable portion of the inner fencing was now found undefended, and towards this place a party rushed with lighted torches, whilst the enemy were kept in play elsewhere: the conflagration spread rapidly on every side; and, as the besieged endeavoured to make their escape, their brains were knocked out by a party of the besiegers, stationed at the back of the fort for the purpose. During this time the guns kept up a regular fire with blank cartridges, merely to intimidate the enemy. The conquerors, club in hand, entered the place in several quarters, and slew all they met, men, women, and children. The scene was truly horrible. The war-whoop shouted by the combatants, the heart-rending screams of the women and children, the groans of the wounded, the number of the dead, and the fierceness of the conflagration, formed a picture almost too distracting and awful for the mind steadily to contemplate. Some, with a kind of sullen and stupid resignation, offered no resistance, but waited for the hand of fate to dispatch them, no matter in what mode: others, that were already lying on the ground wounded,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

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were stuck with spears, and beaten about with clubs by boys who followed the expedition to be trained to the horrors of war, and who delighted in the opportunity of gratifying their ferocious and cruel disposition. Every house that was not on fire was plundered of its contents; and the conquerors made a considerable booty of bales of gnatoo, mats, &c.[*]

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In a few hours, the fortress of Niocalofa, which had obstinately and bravely defended every attack for eleven years, or more, was thus completely destroyed. When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes which had been hauled up in the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty bodies stretched upon the ground, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr. Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them.

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[714] [*] In this affair one of Finow's men, a native of Fiji, had made himself a sort of breast-plate of an earthenware fish-strainer, such as is laid in the bottom of dishes when fish is brought to table, which he had procured from the Port au Prince; but unluckily it happened that an arrow pierced him directly through the hole, which is commonly in the middle of such strainers: the wound laid him up eight months, and he never afterwards, in Mr. Mariner's time, was able to hold himself perfectly erect.

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A few of the enemy, who had escaped the general slaughter, were taken prisoners. They gave a curious description of the effect of the guns. They declared, that, when a ball entered a house, it did not proceed straight forward, but went all round the place, as if seeking for men to kill; it then passed out of the house and entered another, still in search of food for its vengeance, and so on to a third, &c.; sometimes it would strike the corner-post of a house, and bring it all down together. The chiefs, seeing all this dreadful mischief going forward, rendered still more tremendous by their own imaginations, sat in consultation, upon one of the large canoes just mentioned, and came to a determination to rush out upon the white men, and take possession of the guns: this was scarcely resolved upon, when a shot struck the canoe on which they were sitting, and shattered it to pieces. This so damped their courage, that they ran for security to one of the inner houses of the garrison, when their distress was much increased by finding their men deserting the place, and running up into the country. Thus every thing was going to destruction within, although, without, the damage appeared in Finow's eyes so inconsiderable; but he had formed his judgment of the effect of the guns by their effect upon the fencing.

634 669 727 The king, having finished this affair, began to think of returning to Pangaimotoo: Mr. Mariner, indeed, endeavoured to persuade him to follow up the advantages of his victory by immediately laying siege to another fortress, which, no doubt, would soon have fallen into their hands; and the whole island, being struck with dismay, would readily have submitted to his government. But, it seems, Finow was not yet the complete warrior; or he thought, perhaps, that, having such powerful weapons in his possession, he could reduce the island at any future time.

727 [131] [484] [262] Pangaimotoo is not more than three quarters of a mile distant from the island of Tonga, separated from it only by a long narrow reef. To this place Finow returned with all his men, intending to go back to Tonga another day. As soon as they landed, they sat down to eat, not having taken any refreshment since morning, with the exception of some of the men, whose stomachs not being the most delicate, had partaken of some yams and plantains that they found roasting along with the bodies of the dead in the general conflagration at Nioocalofa.

727 349 712 They remained several days at this island, during which time several canoes were sent to an uninhabited part of Tonga for the

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purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the 787
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre- [262]
pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circum-
stance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma- [292]
tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair [276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves[*]; if at a distance, he seats him-
self on any convenient spot of ground, and the
matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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[*] Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, [342]
open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
of the ground.

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787 there were not a considerable vacant space left
276 opposite the priest. In this space, at the bottom
[292] of the circle, sits the man who prepares the
cava, the root being previously chewed by the
787 cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind
209 him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscriminately
565 among the people. The chiefs take
[276] this retired and humble station on account of
the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that
such modest demeanour must be acceptable to
the gods.

787 As soon as they are all seated, the priest is
considered as inspired, the god being supposed
793 to exist within him from that moment. He remains
for a considerable time in silence, with
his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast
[565] down, and he rests perfectly still. During the
time that the victuals are being shared out, and
the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes
begin to consult him; sometimes he answers
them; at other times not; in either case he remains
with his eyes cast down. Frequently he
793 will not utter a word till the repast is finished,
787 and the cava too. When he speaks, he generally
154 begins in a low and very altered tone of
[195] voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural
pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All
that he says is supposed to be the declaration of
the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

person as if he were the god. All this is done 787
generally without any apparent inward emotion 154
or outward agitation; but on some occasions 793
his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were,
inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal
trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his
forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his
eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and
his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes [261]
on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as
four hungry men, under other circumstances,
could devour. The fit being now gone off, he 787
remains for some time calm, and then takes up 793
a club that is placed by him for the purpose,
turns it over and regards it attentively; he then
looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the
left, and now again at the club; afterwards he
looks up again, and about him in like manner,
and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and
so on, for several times: at length he suddenly
raises the club, and, after a moment's pause,
strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the
house, with considerable force: immediately
the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires
to the back of the ring among the people. If 787
the company now wish for any more cava, Fi- 634
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787 now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits
634 at the head of the ring.

554 It might be supposed that this violent agita-
276 tion on the part of the priest is merely an assumed appearance for the purpose of popular deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at
787 all to think so. There can be little doubt, how-
154 ever, but that the priest, on such occasions,
793 often summons into action the deepest feelings of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion. But there is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well as modern, afford numerous instances of this nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized, display ample testimony that false religions, and false notions of religion, act upon some minds with such extraordinary impulses, that they are mistaken for divine inspirations.

It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons,
787 who are not priests, are often visited by the
154 gods, particularly females, but who are never
784 affected in the manner above described: they are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and, as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away 787
for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm 154
generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. 784
These are also called fits of inspiration, and are
firmly believed to be visitations from some god
who accuses the party of neglect of religious
duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but
by an inward compunction of conscience. But 787
these things are also common enough in all 154
parts of the world, at home as well as abroad.
Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort
of mysterious conversation with the divinities,
that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever they feel their mind at all so disposed.
Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare 276
instance of a man who was disappointed in this
particular: finding himself, as he thought, about
to be inspired, some cava was brought to him
(as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little
while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the
god would not visit; at which all present were
greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken
away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes 155
produced very serious consequences: to give an
instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a 763
very handsome young man, became inspired,
but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden
he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

787 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he
154 was taken to the house of a priest *, who told
755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning
763 her name, who had died two years before, and was now in Bolotoo†, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

Now we are upon this subject it may not be
787 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this
154 period of our history was at the Navigator's islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

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[793] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] [565] [776] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second rank in Bolotoo.

Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it 787
may be recollected was assassinated by Finow 154
and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me
that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occa- 634
sionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga.

We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes hav- 349
ing been procured, Finow and his army left 712
Pangaimotoo and landed at Nioocalofa, for the 727
purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The

349 plan was marked out somewhat different from
712 the former, and larger, as being judged more
727 suitable to their views; a vast number of hands
were employed, and in two days the building
was finished: a few alterations and additions
were afterwards made as occasion and conveni-
[164] ence required. During the time this was about,
several of the men got dangerously wounded
by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which
there were several on the land side of the *colo*.
[766] They were also much annoyed by the smell of
the dead bodies that lay every where about, but
which they did not take the trouble to bury, as
they were enemies, and none of them their rela-
tions†. The canoes were now hauled up on
the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven
round them. The four guns were drawn into
the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who
669 went up into the country according to their
726 daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

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* Lovosás are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

cocoa nuts, were attacked by a larger party of 669
the enemy, when one man was killed, but the 726
rest escaped back to the *colo*. Upon this, a
body of two hundred set out, (Mr. Mariner 669
among them,) in pursuit of the enemy: they 726
found them, and were kept at a running fight, 727
till they were decoyed beyond a place where
another party lay concealed, who immediately
rose, attacked them in the rear, and killed
about thirty. The Hapai people now began to
run, and Mr. Mariner with four of the natives
who were engaged with another party, found it
necessary to decamp also: in crossing a field of
high grass, Mr. Mariner fell into a hole six feet
deep; his four faithful friends were resolved to
save him, and three defended the place with
their spears, while one helped him out: one of
the three was killed on the spot. Being extricated
from his perilous situation, and finding a
large body of the enemy close upon them, they
resolved to sell their lives to the utmost advantage.
At this moment, their own party looking
round and seeing these four bravely make a
stand, came up with all speed to their assistance,
and a general battle took place, which
was obstinately fought for some time, but at
length the enemy was completely put to the
rout. Whilst this was going forward, a Hapai 669
chief at some distance from their friends met a 726

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Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Nioocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

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[177]
[724]
The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should make their escape, and then to roast and eat them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

some, because they liked this sort of diet, and 669 by others because they wanted to try it, thinking 266 it a manly and warlike habit: there was also [127] another motive, viz. a great scarcity of provisions; [124] for some canoes which had been sent to the Hapai islands in quest of provisions were unaccountably detained, and the garrison was already threatened with distress. Some of the [252] prisoners were soon dispatched: their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roasted under hot stones: two or three were embowelled and baked whole the same as a pig *. Mr. Mariner was not tempted to partake of this kind of diet, though the smell of it, when cooked, was exceedingly delicious. A few days now [124] elapsed without any signs of the canoes from Hapai, and the distress of those who did not choose to eat human flesh was very great. Mr. Mariner had been two days and a half without eating any thing; when, passing by a house where they were cooking something, he walked in, with the pleasing hope of getting something that his stomach would bear, if it were only a piece of a rat; on enquiry, he was told, they had got some pork, and a man offered him a piece of liver, which he eagerly accepted, and

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* For their different methods of cooking, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

669 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the
266 smile on the countenance of the man, that it
727 was human liver; overcome by disgust, he threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 When Captain Cook visited these islands,
266 cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst
261 them: but the Fiji people soon taught them
[177] this, as well as the art of war; and a famine,
[731] which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the materials of a repast.
[525] Since that period, there was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

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* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon 266 the following conditions: if the girls won the 261 game, they were to divide a yam, which they 525 had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a 724 supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of 766 Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury 727 the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

766 during the siege. This being granted, they
727 came and singled out half a dozen, from the
350 that lay about, whom they knew, from
particular circumstances, to be their relations.
These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving all the rest where they found them.

Every day a number of deserters from dif-
669 ferent garrisons came over to Finow: they all
726 brought intelligence that Finow might shortly
expect an attack from one or other of them: but the fortress of Niooealofa was now well prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile, the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion, acknowledging him king of Tonga. The name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy, and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous of returning to the Hapai islands to perform an indispensable ceremony of a religious
766 nature, which we shall now explain. At the
death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief)
784 there is such a constant feasting for nearly a
262 month, as to threaten a future scarcity of cer-
765 tain kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil,
643 a prohibition, or *táboo*, is afterwards laid upon
[565]

hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but 766
great chiefs may use them for food, under pain 784
of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months.
When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, 262
Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooitonga, 765
had just died, and the ceremony of his 643
burial was being performed; though this gentleman [565]
had not the opportunity of witnessing
it. All the feasting consequent upon this event
being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the articles
above named; and now, after the lapse of
eight months, comes the period to take it off,
and the accomplishment of this constitutes the
ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, [796]
by the way, that two or three plantations are [565]
not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs,
fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for occasional
religious rites, and for the consumption
of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of
the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is
supposed that the Gods would become exceedingly
angry, and revenge themselves by the
death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance 766
of an enemy, and being anxious to return to 765
Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, consulted 787
the Gods, and was admonished by them 634
to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as possible. 634
With this view, he at first intended to 728

634 728 make some further arrangements with Tarky′, and to leave a hundred of his men to garrison Nioocalofa till his return: but being advised not to do so, lest this chief should prove treacherous, and put his hundred men to death, he resolved to give the fortress wholly up to Tarky′s possession, and not run the risk of losing his men. He accordingly ordered the canoes to be launched, and stored with provisions; and having given up Nioocalofa to Tarky′s chiefs, upon their faithful promise to take all due care of it, he went on board with all his army the same afternoon, and landed at Pangaimotoo, intending to sail the following morning for the Hapai islands.

669 726 During the night, a great fire was seen at Tonga, towards Nioocalofa, and the fortress itself was suspected to be on fire; but whether from accident, or the treachery of Tarky′, Finow was resolved to learn as soon as possible. Before sunrise, therefore, he sent out a canoe to make inquiry: it soon returned with the information, received from a well disposed subject of Tarky′, that the place was burnt by order of that chief, whilst Finow was in sight, on purpose to vex and irritate him. 634 At this insult, Finow was so enraged, that he resolved to go back immediately, and exterminate Tarky′ and all his family: but the priests persuaded him

not, reminding him of the admonition of the 634
Gods. This circumstance so affected him, that
it prevented his departure till the following
morning. In the mean time, a Tonga chief,
Filimoeátoo, and his family, having obtained
permission from the superior chief of his gar-
rison (that of Hihifo) to join Finow, as he was
his relation, arrived at Pangaimotoo, and en-
tered into the king's service. During the day, [522]
another circumstance occurred which amused
Finow, and served to quiet the ruffled state of
his temper. Mr. Mariner, having heard that 727
European ships more frequently touched at
Tonga than at any of the other islands, had
written, while yet at Tonga, an English letter
(with a solution of gunpowder and a little mu-
cilage for ink), on some paper which one of the
natives had had a long time in his possession,
and addressed it to whomsoever it might be,
stating the circumstances of his situation, and
that of his companions. This letter he had con-
fided to the care of the chief of Mafanga, (the
consecrated place formerly mentioned) with di-
rections to give it to the captain of any ship
that might arrive at Tonga. Tooi Tooi (the 727
Sandwich islander) having somehow heard of 634
this letter, mentioned it to Finow, and repre-
sented it to be a notice to European ships of the
fate of the Port au Prince, and a request to take

121 684 revenge for the destruction of her crew. Finow immediately sent for the letter and obtained it, under some specious pretext, from the chief of Mafanga. When it was put into his hands he looked at it on all sides; but not being able to make any thing of it, he gave it to Jeremiah Higgins, who was at hand, and ordered him to say what it meant: Mr. Mariner was not present. Higgins took the letter, and translating part of it into the Tonga language, judiciously represented it to be merely a request to any English captain that might arrive to interfere with Finow for the liberty of Mr. Mariner and his countrymen: stating that they had been kindly treated by the natives, but, nevertheless, wished to return, if possible, to their native country. This was not indeed the true substance of the letter, but it was what was least likely to give offence: and the chief accordingly remarked that it was very natural for these poor fellows to wish to go back to their native country and friends*.

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* The letter in fact was an advice to European ships to go to the Hapai Islands in preference to the Island of Tonga, as being a better place for victualling: advising at the same time, not to suffer many of the natives to be on board at once, lest they should meet with the same fate as the Port au Prince, but, if possible, to make some of the chiefs prisoners and keep them as hostages, till Mr. Mariner and his companions were delivered up.

This mode of communicating sentiments was 727
an inexplicable puzzle to Finow; he took the 634
letter again and examined it, but it afforded him 177
no information. He considered the matter a little within himself; but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr. Mariner, and desired him to write down something: the latter asked what he would choose to have written; he replied, put down me: he accordingly wrote "*Feenow*" (spelling it according to the strict English orthography): the chief then sent for another Englishman who had not been present, and commanding Mr. Mariner to turn his back and look another way, he gave the man the paper, and desired him to tell what that was: he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and, with astonishment, looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions: at length he exclaimed, "This is neither like myself nor any body else! where are my legs? how do you know it to be I?" and then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he impatiently ordered Mr. Mariner to write something else, and thus employed him for three or four hours in putting down the names of different persons, places, and things, and making the other man read them. This afforded extraordinary diver- [522]

727 sion to Finow, and to all the men and women
634 present, particularly as he now and then whispered
177 a little love anecdote, which was strictly
[522] written down, and audibly read by the other,
not a little to the confusion of one or other of the ladies present: but it was all taken in good humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the prevailing passions. How their names and circumstances could be communicated through so mysterious a channel, was altogether past their
[754] comprehension. Finow had long ago formed
his opinion of books and papers (see p. 60), and this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing he had ever seen or heard of. Mr. Mariner in vain attempted to explain. He had yet too slender a knowledge of their language to make himself clearly understood: and, indeed, it would not have been an easy matter to have explained the composition of elementary sounds, and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a people whose minds were already formed to other modes of thinking, and whose language had few expressions but what concerned the ordinary affairs of life. The only rational mode would have been, to have invented a system of spelling, and to have gone through the usual routine of teaching it. Finow, at length, thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him that it was very possible to put

down a mark or sign of something that had been 727
seen both by the writer and reader, and which 634
should be mutually understood by them: but 177
r. Mariner immediately informed him, that he could write down any thing that he had never seen: the king directly whispered to him to put Toogoo Ahoo (the king of Tonga, whom he and Toobó Nuha had assassinated many years before Mr. Mariner's arrival). This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished, and declared it to be the most wonderful thing he had ever heard of. He then desired him to write "Tarky'," (the chief of the garrison of Bea, whom Mr. Mariner and his companions had not yet seen; this chief was blind in one eye). When "Tarky" was read, Finow inquired whether he was blind or not; this was putting writing to an unfair test! and Mr. Mariner told him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered in a whisper to write, "*Tarky', blind in his left eye,*" which was done, and read by the other man to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr. Mariner then told him that, in several parts of the world, messages were sent to great distances through the same medium, and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow
acknowledged this to be a most noble invention,
but added, that it would not at all do for the
Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but
disturbances and conspiracies, and he should
not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month.
He said, however, jocosely, that he should like
to know it himself, and for all the women to
know it, that he might make love with less risk
of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring
the vengeance of their husbands.

[522] This circumstance served greatly to amuse
and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following
morning they again embarked, and sailing
with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands,
they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his
own residence, and on this were erected four

262
columns of yams in the following manner: four 796
poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed up- 766
right in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, 784
at about four feet distance from each other in a
quadrangular form; the spaces between them, 765
all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller 349
poles about six inches distant from each other,
and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species
of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection
being filled up as they proceeded with yams;
and afterwards other upright poles were lashed
on to the top with cross pieces in like manner,
still piling up the yams; then a third set of
poles, &c., till the column of yams was about
fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all
was placed a cold baked pig. Four such co-
lumns were erected, one at each corner of the
malái, the day before the ceremony, and three
or four hundred hogs were killed, and about
half baked. The following day the hogs were 262
carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a 796
mile off, and placed upon the ground before the 766
house, as well as four or five wooden cars or 784
sledges full of yams, each holding about five 765
hundred. While this was doing, and the peo-
ple assembling from all quarters, those who were
already arrived sat themselves down round the
king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got [517]
up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com- [526]

262 pany by wrestling with one another. The king
796 and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were
766 already seated in the house, viewing what was
784 going forward. The company being, at length,
765 all arrived, and having seated themselves, the
[517 king gave notice that the ceremony was to be-
[526 gin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those
who prided themselves in their strength, then
[292] got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry
off the largest hog: when one failed, another
262 tried; then a third, and so on, till every one
796 that chose had made a trial of his strength. To
766 carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy
784 to be done, on account of its greasiness as well
765 as its weight; but it affords a considerable share
482 of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat
[565] baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his
shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's 262
strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon 796
his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped 766
through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save 784
it, brought him down after it. It is an honour
to attempt these things, and even the king, 765
sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small 482
hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they
were easily lifted and carried away, each by
one man, and deposited, not at the outside of
Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs,
but carried at once into it, where the cars of
yams were also dragged one at a time. When [634]
every thing was thus cleared from the king's [565]
malái, the company got up and proceeded to
the other, where they again seated themselves,
whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and
his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of
the ring among the great body of the people.
The large hogs which had been deposited in the
neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be
brought in, each by one man, and, as it had
been found that one man's strength was not
sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders,
two others were allowed to lift the hog and
place it upon his shoulders for him, and then
he tottered in with his load, followed by another

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* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very [515]
cleanly people.

262 man with the liver; and in this manner all the
796 hogs and their livers were carried in and de-
766 posited in two or three rows before Tooitonga.
784 Their number was then counted by the head
765 cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced
482 aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the
number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 This portion of pork and yam being disposed
796 of, the remainder was shared out in the follow-
766 ing manner: one column of yams was allotted
784 to the king, to be removed in the afternoon,
765 and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always
shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

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[565] [643] [776] * Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

were never inquired after: Tooitonga generally 262
takes care of them, and appropriates them to his 796
own use, and that of his numerous household, 766
not that he has any legal right to them beyond 784
custom and silent consent. The hogs were disposed 765
of in like manner: the greatest quantity
to the greatest chiefs, who share them out to
the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and
these again to their dependants, till every man
in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork
and yam. The ceremony now concluded with
dancing, wrestling, &c. after which, every person
present having secured his portion, retired to
his home to share it with his family. From this
moment the *taboo*, or prohibition upon hogs,
fowls, and cocoa-nuts, was null and void.

The hogs and yams left at Tooitonga's grave,
having remained there several days, (till the
pork stunk,) were shared out, by order of Tooitonga,
to all who chose to apply for a portion.
They belong indeed properly to the principal [565]
chiefs; but as they are accustomed to feed upon
meat in a better state of preservation, they
forego their claims, and allow the lower orders
to eat it for them. Mr. Mariner could not learn
why the pork was thus left till it was scarcely
eatable—the only answer he could get was, that
such was the ancient custom. It may perhaps
be considered an offering to Tooitonga's ances-

262 tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take
796 away while it was good for any thing.

766 Finow had three daughters, the eldest of
784 whom, now about eighteen years of age, had
765 been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having
expressed his wish that the marriage should
643 take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary
581 preparations, about five days after the above-
mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

643 The young lady having been profusely anoint-
585 ed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood,
[302] was dressed in the choicest mats of the Naviga-
tor's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as
[292] silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

lowers, and were dressed in a manner nearly 643
similar, but not with quite so many mats. The 585
lady and her five companions being all ready,
proceeded to the *malái* of Tooitonga, who was
there, waiting for their arrival, together with a
number of other chiefs, two matabooles sitting
before him. The lady and her attendants being
arrived, seated themselves on the green before
Tooitonga. After the lapse of a little time a
woman entered the circle with her face covered
up with white *gnatoo;* she went into the house
of the *malái*, and proceeded towards the upper
end, where there sat another woman in waiting
with a large roll of *gnatoo*, a wooden pillow*,
and a basket containing bottles of oil. The
woman, whose face was veiled, took the *gnatoo*
from the other, wrapped herself up in it, and
laying her head upon the wooden pillow, went,
or pretended to go, fast asleep. No sooner
was this done than Tooitonga rose up, and
taking his bride by her hand, led her into the
house, and seated her on his left hand. Twenty 252
baked hogs were now brought into the circle of 412
the *malái*, and a number of expert cooks came 177
with knives (procured from European ships;

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* A pillow to sleep on in these islands consists merely of 513
a rod of wood about an inch in diameter, and a foot and a
half long, and raised about half a foot by two diverging
pieces at each end: the nape of the neck rests upon this.

643 formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in
585 carving with speed and dexterity, which is considered
[252 a great recommendation. A considerable
[412 part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking
[177 his portion and putting it in his bosom*. The
[565 remainder of the pork was then heaped up and
scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her†,

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[784] * It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that
[262] the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never
eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

[595] † It must be noticed that every great chief has within his
[342] fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs
[565] to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he generally
[784] sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always
the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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where he left her to have her mats taken off, 643
and her usual dress put on; after which she 585
amused herself in conversation with the women.
In the mean time a feast was prepared for the [262]
evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: [574]
this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about [565]
dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat
down to receive their portions, which the generality reserved to take home with them; the
lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity, consumed theirs on the spot. After this [276]
the cava was shared out and drunk. The mu- [533]
sicians (if so they can be called) next sat down
at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga, in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held
by men who also held baskets of sand to receive
the ashes. The musical instruments consisted 534
of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to produce, held by the middle, and one end being struck on the ground, different notes according to the intended tune (all the knots being cut out of the bamboo, and one end plugged up with soft wood). The only other instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on which a man struck with two sticks, one in
each hand, to regulate the time. The music 643
was an accompaniment to dancing, which was 585
[533]
[535]

643 kept up a considerable time*. The dancing
585 being over, one of the old mataboolеs addressed
[533] the company, making a moral discourse on the
[535] subject of chastity,—advising the young men to
[565] respect, in all cases, the wives of their neigh-
[831] bours, and never to take liberties even with
an unmarried woman against her free consent.
The company then rose, and dispersed to their
respective homes. The bride was not present
at this entertainment. Tooitonga being ar-
rived at his house, sent for the bride, who im-
[202] mediately obeyed the summons. The moment
they retired together the lights were extin-
guished, and a man, appointed at the door for
the purpose, announced it to the people by
three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,)
which he followed up immediately by the loud
and repeated sound of the conch.

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[128] * Their dances have already been described by Captain Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the second volume.

CHAPTER V.

Political intrigues of Toobo Toa against Toobo Nuha—Toobo Toa's vow—Finow's character contrasted with that of Toobo Nuha—Sentiments of Toobo Toa—Assassination of Toobo Nuha—Speech of Latoo Ila over the dead body—Specious conduct of Finow—The body laid in state—Dismal lamentations of Toobo Nuha's women—Some account of the nature of the taboo—Burial of Toobo Nuha—Heroic challenge of Chiooloòa—Chiefdom of Vavaoo given to Finow's aunt—Her hostile intentions—The heroic speech of her sister to the women of Vavaoo—Tóĕ Oomoo (Finow's aunt) builds a large and strong fortress at Vavaoo—Finow's determination to proceed immediately against it, notwithstanding the dissuasion of his priests—Sketch of his religious sentiments—Bravado of a Vavaoo warrior—Finow's son arrives from the Navigator's islands—His ceremony of marriage—A review—An instance of mercy and discrimination—Arrival of a canoe from Vavaoo—Finow embarks with 4000 men for Haano—By the advice of the gods he proceeds to Vavaoo with three canoes to offer peace—Is met by Toe Tangata, who addresses him—Finow makes a speech to the Vavaoo people—Their rejection of his offers—Beautiful appearance of the great garrison of Vavaoo—Return of the expedition to Hapai. 000

WE are now coming to a new æra in the history of the Tonga islands, occasioned by the political intrigues of Toobó Tóa a natural son of Toogoo Ahoo,[A] by one of that king's female attendants. Toobó Tóa was the chief that formerly had the direction of the conspiracy 662 634 [157]

A [The deceased Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

662 against the Port au Prince: he was a man of
634 not quite so brave and disinterested a spirit as
[157] Toobó Nuha; he partook rather of the character of Finow, with a little more ferocity, but somewhat less depth of policy. It will be recollected that Toobó Nuha was the chief that
662 assassinated Toogoo Ahoo; ever since which
634 period Toobó Toa's desire of revenge was most
669 implacable; and he had made a vow never to drink the milk of the cocoa-nut out of the shell
662 till he had fully accomplished it. He had in-
634 deed all along espoused the cause of Finow
[669] against the adherents of his father, which may seem strange, as Finow himself was a principal accomplice in that assassination, though his policy did not allow him to be the immediate perpetrator. But Toobó Tóa knew well that he should have no chance of success against so strong a power as that of Finow; he therefore joined him, that he might have, some time or another, an opportunity, however dangerous the attempt, of wreaking a signal vengeance on Toobó Nuha. The crisis was now fast approaching, for he had well prepared the way for it, by constantly whispering into the ear of Finow something disadvantageous to the character of Toobó Nuha. At one time he represented him to be the meditator of certain conspiracies; at another the enviable possessor of a

happier island, (Vavaoo,) much more productive of every article of convenience and luxury: 662 634
sometimes he insinuated that Toobó Nuha did not pay sufficient annual tribute, considering the fertility of the island and the superior dignity of Finow; at other times he represented him as ambitious, that he sought to gain too much the love of the people, and by his success in this way became too powerful: he moreover never ceased to remind the king of the frequent opposition made by Toobó Nuha to his wise measures in regard to his warlike preparations against Tonga: at last he had the boldness to propose his assassination. Finow, who was not at all startled at proposals of this nature, but who never wished, if possible, to appear to the world as a party concerned, lent an attentive ear to Toobó Tóa, and half promised his assistance, but advised that the execution of his project should be deferred till some future and more fit opportunity offered.

To enter properly into the merit of this account, Finow's character must all along be kept 634 157
in view: he was a man of a deep and designing spirit, always willing to favour any conspiracy that promised to advance his interests, but exceedingly cautious how he let any body know his intentions, even the party that proposed it. He always conducted himself with such ad-

634 mirable policy, that no one, not even his most
157 intimate acquaintance, could dive thoroughly
into his projects. Toobó Nuha, (his brother,)
634 on the contrary, was a truly brave man, and,
669 upon the whole, of an undesigning and exceedingly
157 liberal mind; for though he had proposed
and perpetrated the assassination of Toogoo
Ahoo, it was believed to be not so much to
avenge his own personal wrongs as those of his
country: he often used to express to Mr. Mariner
the extent and nature of his feelings on
that occasion, how he regretted that so many
beautiful and innocent women should be sacrificed
at the same time*; yet how strongly he
felt that the liberty of his country was that moment
in his power, whilst the desire of avenging
its wrongs was like a raging thirst that
overpowered every other sensation: no sooner
was the blow struck than he saved all that he
could save, a little child of three years old,
which he bore away in his arms from the scene
634 of slaughter. The liberality of his mind will
157 appear also from the answers he made to those
who sometimes threw out hints to him that
Finow was not his friend, and that it was therefore
proper for him always to go armed:
"Finow," he replied, "is my brother—he is

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* See note p. 72.

" my superior chief—he is king of these islands, 634
" and I pay him tribute as a servant; if he has 157
" any reason to be dissatisfied with my conduct, " my life is at his disposal, and he is welcome " to take it, for it is better to die than to live " innocent and yet be thought capable of " treachery;—besides, I will not arm myself " against a power to which, as long as the " country is well governed, it is my duty to " submit."

This brave chief was still at Lefooga with 634
all his army, in daily expectation of receiving orders from the king for their return to Vavaoo. Toobó Tóa thought the opportunity too advan- 662
tageous to be lost: he did not approve of the 634
advice of Finow, to wait yet a little longer. What opportunity, he thought, could be better than the present, while Toobó Nuha was still on the same island with him, and the king seemed disposed to favour his views? He had harboured sentiments of revenge so long within his breast, and the fitness of the occasion so spurred his resolution, that every day's delay appeared in his imagination the loss of an age. Finow's feeling upon the subject was supposed not to be very far remote from that of Toobó Tóa; but as he saw very clearly that this chief's determination was fully bent upon his purpose, and required no encouragement from

662 634 him, he chose merely by an outward shew of moderation and wisdom to give a sort of passive consent, and to remain by this means the spectator rather than the actor in the scene, and so to avoid if possible the odium of being an accomplice in the murder of so brave and good a man.

A few days now elapsed, and Toobó Nuha
662 was still among the number of the living. One
727 evening, about an hour before sun-set, the king
634 desired Mr. Mariner to accompany him and his daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three quarters of a mile off; he was going, he said, to consult an old chief, Toge he Mooana, who resided there, upon some political business. Finow usually carried out with him a large whaling knife, (the blade of which was two feet long and three inches wide;) Mr. Mariner, observing, on this occasion, that he did not take his knife, asked him if he should take it and carry it for him; he replied, No, I have no need of it: the other obeyed, and followed* him and his daughter, unarmed. In their way they came near to a pool, and Finow stepped aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant to Toobó Nuha, to desire him to come to him. By the time he had done bathing Toobó Nuha

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* When several persons walk together, it is customary for one to follow another in a row.

arrived, and all four pursued their walk to the 662
old chief's house; where, when they arrived, 634
the two chiefs and Finow's daughter entered 727
the inside fencing, while Mr. Mariner went into a house within the outside fencing, and remained in conversation with a female attendant of Finow's daughter. They had not been long here, before Toobó Tóa came in and shortly after went out again. There entered soon after four men belonging to him, who immediately began to take down the sail, mast and sprits of a small canoe; stating as their motive, when questioned by the woman, Toobó Tóa's orders to prepare a canoe*; having taken what they wanted, they went out. In about two hours Finow came out of the inner fencing, followed by Toobó Nuha and his own daughter; as they passed on, Mr. Mariner followed her, and the female attendant walked last.—It was now night, but somewhat moonlight. As they passed the corner of the outer 662
fencing, Toobó Tóa and the four men just spoken 634
of rushed from their hiding-place, and made a violent assault on Toobó Nuha: the first blow of a club he received on his shoulder, (intended

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* The orders they had received from Toobo Toa were, in fact, to get ready a canoe to make his escape in, if his intended project against the life of Toobo Nuha should fail. These four men were his confidents.

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for his head:) he immediately exclaimed “ *O* “ *iaooé Finow, teoo máte* (oh! Finow, am I to be “ killed?)” and retiring a few steps set his back against the fencing: Finow, who was several paces in advance, immediately made what was thought a *feigned* attempt to defend him, exclaiming “ *O iaooé seeoké gooa máte e tangáta!* “ (alas! this noble man is killed!)” but he was held from his strong, yet pretended endeavour to run to his assistance, by some other attendants of Toobó Tóa, who came up and forced Finow into the fencing. (It must be recollected that Finow did not choose to bring his whaling knife with him.) Toobó Nuha, who was without any offensive weapon, as he had been without any suspicion, warded off several blows with his hands and arms; till both these being broken, he was unable to lift them up, when a blow from Toobó Tóa on the head made him stagger, another knocked him down, and he was beaten as long as signs of life remained, and for some time after. At this moment a young warrior, whose name was Latoo Ila, and whose father had been formerly killed, under strong suspicions of conspiracy by Toobó Nuha, came up to the spot, possessed by a spirit of implacable revenge. He struck the body of the dead chief several times, and exclaimed, “ The time of vengeance is come! thou hast

"been long enough the chief of Vavaoo, living 662
"in ease and luxury; thou murderer of my 634
"father! I would have declared my sentiments
"long ago, if I could have depended upon
"others to second me; not that I feared death
"by making thee my enemy, but the vengeance
"of my chief, Toobó Toa, was first to be satisfied,
"and it was a duty I owed the spirit of my
"father to preserve my life as long as possible,
"that I might have the satisfaction to see thee
"thus lie stinking! (dead!)" he then repeated
the blows several times upon his stomach.

On the first noise of the scuffle, Mr. Mariner [127]
imagining that Finow himself was attacked, attempted
to rush forward, though unarmed, to
his assistance, but was prevented by a strong
man, who taking him round the body, pinioned
his arms to his side. The women, on hearing
the sound of the blows, and the exclamation of
Toobó Nuha, ran screaming into the fencing.
In about ten minutes after the affair, nearly 628
two hundred of Finow's people assembled, 634
armed with clubs and spears, to a party of
whom, with a chief at their head, Finow gave
orders to go immediately to Toobó Nuha's people,
who were at their temporary houses on the
shore, and command them, in his name, to go
on board their respective canoes, except the
principal Vavaoo chiefs, who were to come into

628 634 his presence. These orders were scarcely given when one of the late chief's adopted sons, Hala Api Api, came before Finow, and striking his club against the ground, exclaimed "Why sit you there idle?—why do you not " rouse yourself and your men, to revenge the " death of the fallen hero? if it had been your " lot to have sunk thus beneath the clubs of " your enemies, would he have hesitated to " have sacrificed his life for your revenge?— " How great a chief he was! how sadly has he " died!" Finow made no reply, and the young warrior retired a little, and sat down.

The affection of the Vavaoo people for their chief was great, but they thought the present a very disadvantageous opportunity of seeking revenge. They were in a part of the country where their enemies would be very numerous; their canoes would perhaps be taken from them, and their retreat thus cut off.—When they received Finow's orders, they immediately obeyed, the great body of them going into their respective canoes, and their chiefs coming into the king's presence: where, when they arrived, they sat before him, their heads bowed down in dejection and utter sadness.—Finow, in his usual style of artful eloquence, made them a speech, in which he positively declared his innocence of the murder, and his previous

ignorance of its being about to take place. He 628
acknowledged, however, that Toobo Toa confided 634
to him his intentions, and asked his assistance,
which he promised: but that he had
made this promise without meaning to fulfil it;
thinking by this method to satisfy for a time
the urgent solicitations of that chief: lest, not
having made it, he should undertake the rash
act before proper measures could be adopted to
prevent it.

While he was yet speaking, his own wives
and women, having been sent for, came and sat
down behind him. His speech being ended,
half an hour's silence ensued; nobody daring
to deliver his sentiments. The company then
rose, by Finow's order, and followed him to
his house. As he passed the body, he ordered
it to be lifted up and carried before him.
When the procession arrived, the body was 634
laid down on the outside of the house, and 764
washed all over with a mixture of oil and water
(as is always customary.) This office was performed 784
by one of Finow's wives and Mr. Mariner;
nobody else offering to do it, on account
of their objections to being *taboo'd* *. Finow's 643

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* No person can touch a dead chief without being *taboo'd* 766
for ten lunar months, except chiefs, who are only *taboo'd*
for three, four, or five months, according to the superiority 264
of the dead chief; except again it be the body of Tooitonga, 565
and then even the greatest chief would be *taboo'd* ten 643

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
[784] the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
[643] consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences
of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate
to do this last office to his friend, because he
had no superstitious fears of the consequences
of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, being
washed, was brought into the house, laid
on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with
sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four
in number) now came in to mourn over the
dead body of their departed chief. They entered
beating their breasts and faces, and
screaming with all the agony and frantic agitations
[533] of mad women. They sat down close
[539] round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain
began singing

634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned.
During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed him-
764 self with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide
784 another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hun-
766 gry and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
264 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
[565] mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is
firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this be-
[643] lief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made
an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him
[829] feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs,
and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to
his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

O iaooé ! seooké ! 634
O iaooé ! goóa máte é. 764
O iaooé ! goóa te ófa é. 533
O iaooé ! goóa te tángi é. 539
O iaooé ! mówmów é.

Alas ! woe is me !
Alas ! he is dead !
Alas ! how I respect him !
Alas ! how I lament his loss !
Alas ! here are his ruins !

These verses were repeated over and over 634
again, without any order, during the whole 764
night; the mourners frequently beating their [533]
breasts and faces, and now and then making
exclamations regarding themselves, as to what
would become of them now they had lost their
great chief and protector, and with him all
their happiness and comfort. The house was [354)
lighted up by lamps with cocoa-nut oil. About
one hundred and fifty persons were present,
among whom were Finow and Mr. Mariner;
both of whom staid the whole night. Finow's
wives retired to rest. Mr. Mariner deeply felt
on his mind the depressing influence of these
sorrowful lamentations. The poor unfortunate
women at intervals only sobbed and mourned
for a time, then broke out loudly as before;
till by degrees, the voice growing weak, sunk
into a hoarse murmur; as if all the powers of
the soul were fast declining under a weight of

634 764 anguish, never to rise again; then a heart-rending exclamation of sorrow from one spread its contagion to all the rest; and thus was the whole night spent in lamentations for the death of a good and great man; who, as far as human judgment can determine, was unjustly accused, and undeservedly sacrificed.

During all this time, the chiefs and warriors of the king kept themselves on the alarm, expecting every moment a revolt from the people of Toobó Nuha. Every thing, however, re-
[484] mained quiet. The following morning Finow issued orders for the body to be carried on board a canoe along with him, to proceed to the island of Wiha; this was accordingly done, and they set sail, sixty or seventy other canoes following, with the Vavaoo people, and several of the king's warriors. When they arrived at Wiha, a grave was opened for Toobó Nuha in the *fytoca*[*] of his ancestors, wherein his body was deposited in the presence of all who came in the canoes, besides a considerable number of the natives of the island[†].

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[*] Fytoca, a burying-place, including the grave, the mount in which it is sunk, and a sort of shed over it. The grave of a chief's family is a vault, lined at the bottom with one large stone, one at each side, and one at the foot and head, and is about eight feet long, six feet broad, and eight feet deep, covered at the top with one large stone.

[128] [†] The ceremony of this burial is omitted, as being similar

As soon as the corpse was let down into the grave, one of those who had assassinated him, Chioolooa, a great warrior and a powerful man, advanced forward into the middle of the circle, brandishing his club, and addressed the Vavaoo people to the following effect: "If there be "any among you harbouring secret thoughts "of revenge, keep them no longer buried in "your bosom, meditating plans of future insurrection, but come now forth and fight me on "the spot, for by sacrificing me, you will revenge his death: I am the man who acted a "principal part in his death; come on, then, "one and all, and wreak your vengeance on "my head!"—Nobody, however, accepted this challenge; not but there were many Vavaoo chiefs who would willingly have done it, had they not thought better to reserve themselves, to effect a future and more signal vengeance. The stone was now put over the grave, and the company dispersed. 634 764

During the whole of this time, in consequence of Finow's orders, every circumstance was attended to that might prevent an insurrection on the part of the Vavaoo warriors. The four carronades which Finow had brought with him were drawn up before the fencing in 669

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to, though not quite so formal, as what will be described hereafter on the occasion of Finow's death. [128]

669 which he meant to reside during his stay: the Vavaoo people were forbidden to carry any offensive weapons, whilst those of Hapai were ordered to be under arms, and to keep themselves on the alert.

694 Two or three days after this funeral ceremony, the king summoned a private meeting [641] in his presence of the chiefs of Hapai, and those of Vavaoo, when the latter swore allegiance to [782] Finow with their hands placed upon a consecrated bowl *, whilst cava was being mixed in [276] it, invoking the god, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, to [415] whom the bowl was consecrated, and praying him to punish them with untimely death if they should afterwards break their vow, or harbour any thoughts to that intent. The cava was then shared out, and the king informed the Vavaoo chiefs, that thenceforth they were to consider Toe Oomoo, (his aunt), as their lawful chief, and to pay respect to her as such, at her cava ceremonies: they accordingly promised all due submission and obedience to their newly appointed chief; after which the

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* The bowl is held consecrated because it is kept on pur- [778] pose to make cava in, for the ceremonies of that god only [565] (Tooi fooa Bolotoo), being used on no other occasion. If a great chief takes an oath, he swears by the god, (laying his hand upon the consecrated bowl); if an inferior chief takes an oath, he swears by his superior relation, who, of course, is a greater chief, and lays his hand upon his feet.

assembly rose up, and dispersed to their respective 634 houses.

The following day, Finow, and all that had come to this island with him, went on board [484] their canoes, and returned back to Lefooga, and, shortly after, all the Vavaoo people, except [565] the greater part of the matabooles* of the late Toobó Nuha, who were detained by Finow, pursued their course to Vavaoo.

About a fortnight after their departure, there 668 arrived a canoe from Vavaoo with a mataboole, 669 and thirty or forty men, who were well affected 634 towards Finow. They brought the unexpected information, that the people of that island, at the instigation, and under the guidance of their chief, Toe Oomoo (Finow's aunt), had come to the resolution of freeing themselves from the dominion of the king, and of erecting themselves into a separate nation. Toe Oomoo, it seems, had made a speech to her chiefs, in which she declared, that she found it expedient to shake off the yoke of Finow; for, although she was his aunt, she could not but remember with gratitude the obligations she laid under to Toobó Nuha, and the respect that

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* He retained the matabooles of the late chief, lest by [669] their counsel and advice the Vavaoo people should be urged to rebellion: the matabooles have always great influence with the chiefs.

668 was due to his memory: Toobó Nuba, she
said, had been her particular friend, and she
669 was determined to act in a manner worthy the
634 honour of so great a man's friendship. She then appealed to her chiefs and matabooles, demanding of them their opinion, and whether they also did not think it expedient to free themselves from the dominion of Finow. Here a consultation began, which was kept up a considerable time, without coming to any determination, some arguing rather in favour of Finow's conduct, others rather against it; till, at length, an old woman (sister to Toe Oomoo), rushed into the middle of the assembly, armed with a club and spear, and brandishing them in the air, demanded, with a loud voice, why they hesitated so long in an affair, in which honour clearly pointed out the only proper path to pursue; "but," she added, "if the men are "turned women, the women shall turn men, "and revenge the death of their murdered "chief; let, then, the men stand idly looking "on, and when we are sacrificed in the glo- "rious cause, the example may, perhaps, excite "them to fight and die in the same spirited "endeavour to support and defend their "rights." The warlike declaration of this heroine roused the chiefs into a state of activity, and they speedily came to a resolution to

build a large and strong fortress, and to put 668
themselves in a state of defence against any in-
cursions that Finow might make upon them, 669
or, rather, which Toobó Toa might urge him 634
to make.

The proposed fortress was to be the largest 712
that ~~ever~~ was known in the Tonga islands, to
be, in short, a fortified town, capable of holding [162]
all the inhabitants of Vavaoo (about 8000 in number), with their houses and burying-places, to be built round the Mooa*, and constructed, as usual, of reed fencings, much on the same plan as that of Nioocalofa, formerly described, but to be surrounded by a deep and firm-set bank of solid clay, about twelve feet high, with a ditch on the inner side of it, from which the clay would be furnished, and thus be proof against the guns: within this ditch, and next the fencing, was to be another bank of clay, smaller than the other. The whole of the materials of the fencing was to be proportionably strong and good.

Among a great deal of information which the 701
old mataboole communicated, was that respect- 157
ing the bravado of a Vavaoo warrior, who de-
clared his utter contempt of the guns. It is 411
customary for every professed warrior, before [553]

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* The chiefs' houses are generally situated together, and [361]
this place is called the Mooa, the metropolis of the island.

701 he goes to battle, or expects the coming of an
enemy, to give himself the name of some one
157 particular person, whom he means to single out
411 and fight. This warrior, however, instead of
553 assuming the name of one of the enemy,
proudly called himself Fanna Fonnooa (a great
gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to
a cannon and throw his spear into the mouth
of it.

When Finow was informed of these proceed-
669 ings of the Vavaoo people, he immediately re-
723 solved to make a descent upon them with a
793 powerful force, and reduce them into subjection
634 before they could have completed their designs: but the priests dissuaded him from this hasty project, and proposed, that it would be much more acceptable to the gods to make, in the first place, an offer of reconciliation. The king, however, had not much respect for the priests, and though he sometimes conformed with their advice, it was generally because it tallied with his own opinion, or he did it for the mere outside shew of veneration for the gods: his want of religion was, indeed, almost proverbial, and, on this account, the people often wondered that he was so successful in
669 war. In this particular instance he was so ex-
634 asperated at the conduct of his aunt, that not
the persuasion of the priests, nor the admoni-

tions of the gods, could prevent him turning 669
his immediate attention to the necessary pre- 634
parations for a speedy attack on Vavaoo. Intermediate and unexpected events, however, put a stop, for a time, to these preparations.

At this period, there arrived from Hamoa 484
(the Navigator's islands), Finow's son and heir, 634
Moegnagnongo, after an absence of five years; with him came another great chief, whose name was Voona, and who had formerly been chief of Vavaoo; they and their retinue had sailed from Hamoa in six canoes, one of which, containing sixty persons, and all Moegnagnongo's treasures, was lost in a gale of wind. In their way they had touched at Vavaoo, not knowing the political situation of the island, and were very near being forcibly detained; but, observing something suspicious in the conduct of the people, they put off to sea again, and thus made their escape in time.

Their arrival at Lefooga occasioned great 527
feasting and rejoicing, which lasted many days, 634
and served to divert the king from his immediate warlike projects.

Two daughters of chiefs had, for several 634
years, been kept apart, and reserved to be the 581
wives of the young prince (as we shall beg leave to call him, to avoid the frequent repetition of his uncouth name), as soon as he

643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had
not been unmindful of him in this particular,
he resolved to marry these young maidens also:
and partly to please his own humour, and
partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai
people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony
should be performed, for the most part,
after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage, A
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people
were employed in bringing from different parts
of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas;
cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*.
These were piled up on the *malài* in four large
heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine
membrane of the leaf of the *lo aców*, much resembling
silk: their persons were anointed
with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated
themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning
from the right, the other from the left

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[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Mahoá root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-
[252] nut into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

hand of Finow and his matabooles; at their terminations stood the Hapai people on the one 634 585
side, and the new-comers (most of them Hapai people also), on the other, so as to be opposite to each other, both parties being furnished with clubs made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The prince, who was also armed with a club, stood up among his Hamoa companions.

The two brides were now conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow (near the *malái*). They were dressed in the [292]
finest Hamoa mats *, but not in such profusion as described in Tooitonga's marriage, and were veiled in the finest *gnatoo*. They were led into the house on the *malái*, and seated on bales also of the finest *gnatoo*. Here their feet, [302]
hands, faces, and breasts, were anointed with a mixture of sandal-wood oil, and the purest turmeric, producing a deep orange tint on their skins. They remained seated in this place, to 634
be spectators of the combat that was about to 585
ensue between the inhabitants of Hapai and 526
their friends from Hamoa. 648

The two parties being ready, the challenges

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* These mats are made entirely by hand, and when very fine and large, occupy two years making; this renders them exceedingly valuable. They are so exquisitely manufactured, that one would suppose them to be woven by a loom,

634 were given in the following way: a man from
585 one side runs over to the opposite party and
526 sits down before it; he then makes a sign to
648 know if any one will engage with him: the person who chooses to accept the challenge comes forward brandishing his club, when the two combatants proceed to the middle of the circle, each attended by one from his own party to assist as second. They next determine whether they shall fight after the Tonga or Hamoa fashion; the difference of which is, that the Hamoa custom allows a man to beat his antagonist after he is knocked down, as long as he perceives signs of motion: the Tonga mode, on the contrary, only allows him to flourish his club over his fallen foe, and the fight is at an end. This point being agreed on, the two champions for the applause of the multitude begin to engage. When they have finished, another party comes on in the same way. Sometimes there are three or four sets of combatants engaged at the same time. When a man gains a victory, his own party gives a shout of approbation, *wo wo, á ma to, i oi, i, oi**;

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[104] * The words of this exclamation have, separately, no particular meaning: in respect to the pronunciation, the *o* in *wo* must be dwelt on at least five seconds; the *a* is to be sounded as in ah! tar, &c. the *i* as *e* in he, we, &c.: the whole is given in a sort of recitative, and very slowly.—

the champion then advances towards the chief 634
who presides at the head of the circle (in this 585
instance the king), sits down before him, out 526
of respect, then rises immediately, and returns 648
to his own party.

Such was the mode in which these club-fights were conducted: the prince engaged in several of them, and performed great feats of bravery: he fought no less than fourteen or fifteen battles, and always came off victorious.

The fighting with clubs being over, at a signal from Finow, the boxing and wrestling matches commenced. As their performances [128] in these ways have been so accurately described by Captain Cook, it would be unnecessary to enter here into a detail.

These feats being concluded, the prince and 634
his chiefs retired to the neighbouring houses to 585
dress their heads with a sort of turban, made [292]
of white *gnatoo*, ornamented with small red feathers. Thus equipped, they returned to the *malái*, when the chiefs sat down again among their own party, and the prince went up to his two brides, who were still sitting in the house, raised them up, one by each hand, and led them forth upon the *malái* amid the acclamations of

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N. B. when an *e* occurs in the Tonga language, it must be [104] pronounced like *a* in date, late, &c. For farther particulars on the subject of pronunciation, see the grammar.

634 the people, who clapped their hands, whilst the
585 matabooles exclaimed *malie! malie!* (well done!
634 well done!). The young chiefs and their com-
panions from Hamoa, sung the following song,
585 beating time with their hands: it is in the lan-
533 guage of the Navigator's islands, and Mr. Ma-
177 riner does not understand the meaning of it; he
[191] was so much in the habit of hearing the Tonga
people sing in that language, which they affect to admire, though very few understand what they sing, that he neglected to enquire the meaning of this song; but the words, or rather the syllables, (for it is hard to say whether they are divided quite right), he remembers perfectly well, as many of the people went about all the following night singing it, according to the custom at Hamoa: the song is as follows:

Láfe láfe é, láfe láfe é,
Láfe láfe é chiniláu;
Chi a my ta tó.
Oóa láo fia tála ou.
Móegnagnóngo é, Móegnagnongo é;
Toobó mo Laképa e, Toobó mo Laképa é.

Toobo Mo Lakepa was the name of one of the brides, who was a personage of greater rank than the other.

634 While this singing and these acclamations
585 were going forward, the prince led his brides
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to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dig- 634
nified step, and then returned, amid the same 585
acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them 585
upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he com- 177
menced a dance on the *malai* with the young
chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance
was also after the manner of the Navigator's
islands, and seemed to afford the people much
entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there
was not so great an exhibition of agility as in
their own dances, but equally as much grace,
and somewhat more attitude. In the mean 634
time the brides were conducted to the residence 585
of the bridegroom. The dance being con- 574
cluded, the provisions were shared out: the
two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's
orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of
afterwards as they thought proper): the next
largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. na-
tives of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona,
&c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed
signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to
try their speed and dexterity. This last scene
afforded great diversion to all the spectators.
The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon
brought down, and pulled about in a most mi-
serable way; being torn piece-meal, and so co-
vered with sand and dirt as to be quite uneat-
able. The ceremony was now concluded by a 634
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634 general boxing-match; the men from the north
585 of the island combating those from the south;
526 till at length the men of the north drove their
opponents entirely off the ground. On occasions
292 of such fights the combatants are allowed
to wear turbans, to resemble more nearly a real
[714] fight. It must here be observed that turbans
are not allowed to be worn but in time of war,
and then only by those who are going to battle,
unless on occasions of formal rejoicings like the
present, or at night-time by chiefs and matabooles,
or by the common people when at work
in the fields or in canoes. On all other occasions,
to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful;
for although no chief be present, yet some
292 god may be at hand unseen. This custom is
565 kept up with such strictness, that if a man were
626 to wear a head-dress on other occasions, he
would be sure to be knocked down by the first
person he met who was a superior, and even,
[576] perhaps, if he were an equal. On occasions,
when a turban is allowed to be worn, it must be
removed from the head when a superior happens
to approach (unless in time of actual battle);
but it is usual for the superior to say to
one who is not much inferior, "*toogoo ho fow*,"
keep on your *fow*,—as we would say, keep on
your hat,—which compliment is generally accepted.
The king used frequently to tell Mr.

Mariner, that if he ever met any common fellow with his head covered, he should immediately knock him down. He[A] was, however, allowed, like other foreigners, to wear a head-dress without any restriction, as being supposed to be governed by different gods, and accustomed to different manners. 292 565 626 [609] [727]

But to return to our subject: it may be noticed that the form of the prince's marriage as here related, and which, for the most part, was according to the Hamoa custom, was not very different from that of the Tonga islands; but two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this instance left out, viz. the payment of something valuable to the brides' fathers by the bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads, &c. the brides being virgins: the other part of the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain whether such payment was justly due, should have been performed by the bridegroom (digito admoto) when he had led his brides back into the house, and re-seated them on the bales of *gnatoo:* but the circumstance alluded to, not being thought by the natives of the Tonga islands consistent with delicacy, was accordingly omitted. 634 585 177

In the evening of the same day, the large house on the *malái* was lighted up with flambeaus. Singers and dancers of Hapai assem- 694 585 177 [491]

A [Mariner--Analyst]

634 bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and
585 his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came
177 with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c.
431 (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is
greatly esteemed). These they laid down at the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla, who were seated opposite the entrance. Her majesty returned the compliment by presenting them with three or four English wine-bottles, an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the form of chisels; which having received, they retired and seated themselves on one side, opposite
634 the party of Hapai singers. These latter
585 now began a vocal concert, in the language and
177 after the manner of the Hamoa islands. When
533 they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and
so on alternately during four or five hours, after which the company broke up. The brides were not present at this concert; and the bridegroom, not finding himself much interested in it, soon gave them the slip.

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669 This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being
over, Finow again began to turn his attention
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669 towards Vavaoo. In the first place he dispatched
702 canoes to the different Hapai islands,
with orders to each, that all the male inhabitants
[722] (excepting two of the oldest for each
plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

the yams being all planted,) should assemble 634 669
within ten days at Lefooga, armed with clubs 702
and spears, and supplied with a good store of [722]
provisions. Being all arrived within the time
proposed, Finow issued orders to all his forces
to prepare for a review. On the appointed day 669
they assembled on a *malái*, to the amount of 702
about six thousand; all armed, and painted, 726
and dressed according to some warlike fancy. 634
Finow then delivered a speech, in which he de- [701]
clared his opinion that the Tonga mode of war- [714]
fare had, hitherto, been upon a very bad prin-
ciple; and that instead of running forwards 669
and then retreating, accordingly as they met 702
with advantages or disadvantages, they ought 726
rather to remain together in a body, and not to 634
retreat on every trifling occasion, but to push 177
forward with the most determined courage, and thus dash terror into the minds of their enemies; or by standing their ground with unconquerable steadiness, to strike them with astonishment at their fortitude and strength: for such he had heard was the way of fighting in England, (meaning Europe at large,) and it claimed his highest admiration:——"and," he added, "if any man sees the point of a spear "advancing upon his breast, he is not to run "back like a coward, but push forward upon it, "and at the risk of his life, deal destruction on

669 "his foe." This last sentence he A bellowed
702 forth in a tone and loudness of voice that made
726 every one tremble, for in this particular he was
634 very remarkable; when powerfully and passion-
[177] ately excited, the sound of his voice was like
the roaring of a wild beast, and might be heard
[195] at an incredible distance.

Having finished his speech, several of his warriors ran up to him, striking their clubs furiously on the ground, bidding him not to be afraid of his enemies, for that, comparatively speaking, there were no real warriors in Vavaoo: and that they would stand by him to the very last. The king then addressed them again, describing, in a more particular manner, how they were to proceed in their encounter with the enemy, on the approach of whom they were all to sit down on the ground, and remain perfectly still, as if unconcerned in what was going forward; and even though the enemy were to throw spears and discharge arrows, they were nevertheless to remain motionless till they received orders to rise and rush upon them in a body; this they were to do with ardour and impetuosity; and he was quite certain, he said, that such a sudden and bold attack would put them completely to the rout. He then made them practise this manœuvre several times. Lastly, he spirited them up with thoughts of

A [Finow--Analyst]

glory and honour, telling them at the same 669
time, that death was a thing to be despised,— 702
not to be feared by a brave man, whose name 726
would still live with a lasting life, when his 634
body was buried in the dust. He then dismissed
them, with orders that those belonging
to the northern islands might immediately return
home, but were shortly to proceed to
Haano, the northernmost island of all the Hapais,
and there to wait the arrival of him and
all his southern forces on their way to Vavaoo.

About this time a circumstance happened, 727
which deserves in a particular manner to be recorded, 609
because it evinces a disposition in the 685
natives to act with more justice, mercy, and
discrimination, than what one might otherwise
be tempted to expect. Two boys, about fourteen
years of age, viz. Thomas Eversfield, an
Englishman, and John Roberts, a black native
of Tortola, (both belonging to the Port au
Prince,) were detected stealing a bale of *gnatoo*
from a consecrated house. If they had been [565]
natives, they would instantly have been punished [693]
with death: but the chiefs and matabooles
took the matter into consideration, and
resolved, that, as they were foreigners, and so
young and thoughtless, the offence, this time,
should be overlooked. Nevertheless, to appease 727
the anger of the god, to whom the house 609

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727 609 685 782 was consecrated, it was thought necessary to address him humbly upon the subject. Accordingly, his priest, followed by chiefs and matabooles, dressed in mats, with leaves of the *Ifi* tree round their necks, in token of humility and sorrow, went in solemn procession to the house: they sat down before it, and the priest addressed the divinity to the following purpose: "Here you see the chiefs and matabooles that have come to thee, hoping that thou wilt be merciful: the boys are young, and being foreigners, are not so well acquainted with our customs, and did not reflect upon the greatness of the crime: we pray thee, therefore, not to punish the people for the sins of these thoughtless youths: we have spared them, and hope that thou wilt be merciful and spare us."—The priest then rose up, and they all 727 609 685 [565 634] retired in the same way they came.—The chiefs, and particularly Finow, most severely reprimanded the boys, and endeavoured strongly to impress upon their minds the enormity of the offence, and that they owed their lives solely to their presumed ignorance of the extent of the crime.—They were both of them heartily frightened.

669 [628] A few days after the review a canoe arrived from Vavaoo, with a few Hapai people, who were suffered to leave that island at their par-

ticular request. They brought intelligence that 669
it was not the wish of Toe Oomoo and her [628]
chiefs to be at war with Hapai, but that they
considered it a duty they owed to themselves
to act with strong measures in regard to Finow,
whom they esteemed of so treacherous a character, that a peace with him now would only
be the forerunner of disaster and inglorious
death to themselves, and on this account, they
chose rather to meet their fate in the field,
than to live an idle and peaceful life for a short
time, and at length be cruelly murdered to
satisfy his revenge.—They moreover stated that
it was the determination of the Vavaoo warriors
to rush out suddenly upon the white men, and
take possession of the guns.

A few days afterwards, all affairs being settled 669
in regard to the management of the plantations, 726
the canoes were refitted and launched, [701]
and early in the morning the king, and all the
forces with him, (about 4000 strong) proceeded
to Haano, about three leagues to the north, to
join those who, according to orders, were waiting
for them. At Haano, the king was received 669
with customary feasting and rejoicing, 726
and on the following day the gods were consulted 787
in regard to the expedition. The answer 728
was similar to the admonition formerly given,
viz. that the king should first proceed to Va-

669 vaoo with three canoes only, with such men as
726 had few or no relations at Vavaoo (lest they
787 should be tempted to desert), but above all with
such also as had not been instrumental in the
728 assassination of Toobó Nuha, nor had been formerly
his adherents, lest their presence might
excite still farther the anger of the Vavaoo
people; and, thus accompanied, should offer
669 terms of peace in the most friendly manner.
728 Finow, having by this time had sufficient opportunity
634 to reflect coolly and deliberately, and
therefore more wisely, upon this business, entered
readily into the measure. Three canoes
were got ready, and Finow, with some of the
choicest fighting men, of such description as
the oracle approved of, went on board: Mr.
Mariner was in the king's canoe, and two
other Englishmen were on board one of the
others, and they proceeded towards Vavaoo.
As they approached the shores of this island
they came up with several canoes belonging to
it, endeavouring to make their escape, for they
fancied these were only the head canoes of a
large fleet drawing near to make an attack
upon Vavaoo. The king, however, informed
them that he was not coming with warlike
intentions, but that his object was peace, and
he was paying them a visit for the sole purpose
of adjusting matters amicably; he then dis-

missed them, and they paddled away immediately 669 728
for that part of the island where the [634]
great fortress was situated. As the expedition passed a point about five miles to the southward of the fort, a number of natives were seen on the beach, painted and dressed after the manner of war, and armed with clubs and spears; they menaced the visitors with every martial gesture, furiously splashing up the water with their clubs, and shouting the war-whoop loudly and repeatedly. When they had proceeded a little farther, there came up to them a canoe from the garrison, with a warrior named Ta e Tangata: he wore a turban[*] on his head, and stated that he came, with leave from Toe Oomoo, to enquire if any of Toobó Nuha's murderers were on board, for he was ready, he said, to fight them, and lay down his life in honour of that great and matchless chief. Finow, in answer, told him the purpose 728
of his coming, and that there were none 634
of Toobó Nuha's murderers on board, and as 669
to himself, he was perfectly well disposed to make a peace, and, whatever his enemies

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[*] It will be recollected, that turbans are only worn by daytime, [292]
when within sight of an enemy, &c. see p. 158. This [714]
man, therefore, came as an enemy. This head-dress may be considered a signal of defiance, or, at best, of independence and equality.

669 728 might think of him, that was the object which
634 was nearest his heart. No sooner did the Vavaoo warrior hear this unexpected declaration,
[431] than he pulled off his turban, and taking a
[576] piece of cava root, went on board Finow's canoe, and, having presented the cava to the king, he kissed his feet as a mark of respect. The king then dismissed him, desiring him to relate to his chiefs the object of his coming, and that he should the same evening, if they would permit him, pass on to Neafoo *, to leave cava there, and the following morning proceed to the fortress, to adjust terms of peace. As soon as the warrior departed with his message,
[796] Finow directed his course up an inlet to Neafoo, where he arrived and landed without any opposition, and, having left cava with the usual ceremony (see p. 89), he returned on board, and passed the night in another branch of the inlet leading up to the fortress; towards which, early the following morning, he proceeded with
[577] the three canoes. At first, he intended to land in person, and ascend the hill to address the garrison; but from this he was dissuaded by his chiefs: he then determined to go near to

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[778] * Neafoo is situated on the N. E. shore of Vavaoo, and is a consecrated place, like Mafánga, formerly described, where the ceremony of Tooge was performed. At Neafoo are several houses consecrated to different gods.

the shore in a small canoe which they had in 669
tow, and be led along the shelf by his mata- 728
booles, wading through the water, which was 634
scarcely three feet deep; to this also his friends [577]
objected, being apprehensive that, if he left the
large canoe in the way he proposed, and approached too near the beach, his temper might be so worked into a rage by the insults of the natives, as to induce him to rush on shore, and run the risk of being killed; but Finow replied, by way of apology for not yielding to their advice, that it was the part of a brave man to keep himself perfectly cool and collected when insulted, and that he was resolved to act up to this character. Matters being thus arranged, he went into the small canoe, and was
led along by the matabooles. As they drew [578]
near to the shore, many of the natives called out to them, saying a number of things in derision: one threw them a piece of yam, another a piece of pork, telling them it was to be the last they should get from Vavaoo*; then they enquired whether they were not quite tired of living upon the scanty allowance of the Hapai

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* Vavaoo is famous for good yams, and great quantities [287]
of hogs, as well as for *gnatoo* of a finer quality, and better [386]
printed; the tree, from which the printing colour is pro- [824]
cured, being very scarce, and very inferior, at the Hapai [137]
islands.

669 islands: they next threw them a piece of gnatoo, advising them, in the most friendly manner,
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[578] to wear that instead of scrubbing their skins with the coarse mats of Hapai; and, as this was all they meant to give them, they were to tear it in small pieces, divide it among them, and each wear a rag. During all these insults, the king, contrary to the expectation of every one (for he was of a very irritable temper), kept himself perfectly cool, and said nothing. When he had arrived near enough to address them conveniently, he made a speech of about an hour's length, in which, with a wonderful degree of art and eloquence, he endeavoured to persuade them that he was perfectly innocent of the death of Toobó Nuha; and that he should be exceedingly sorry if their mistaken notions of his sentiments and conduct should occasion a war with Vavaoo: he told them how much he loved and respected his aunt (Toe Oomoo), and how unhappy he should be, if the late unfortunate affair, which he could neither well foresee nor help, should occasion a quarrel with her: nothing grieved him more, he said, than that his best intentions should be thus regarded with suspicion, but he hoped that their candour and liberality, upon a little cool reflection, would lead them to place that confidence in him, which his own consciousness of

upright intentions gave him reason to expect, 669 and he trusted that they would submit to his rule and government as formerly. 728 To this, some of the Vavaoo chiefs replied, that they 634 should be willing enough to acknowledge him king, as formerly, provided he would reside altogether at Vavaoo, and interdict all communication with the Hapai people, among whom there were many designing chiefs, of whose treacherous policy they had good reason to be afraid: or, if he did not choose to remain altogether at Vavaoo, he might reside at Hapai, and they would send him annual tribute, as usual, upon condition that neither he, nor his chiefs, nor any of the people of Hapai, would visit Vavaoo under any pretext whatsoever; for, as they were quite tired of disturbances and insurrections, they heartily wished to keep away all who were promoters of discord, all ambitious and discontented chiefs; all, in short, whose tempers were too fickle to love a peaceful and quiet life: and, as to the large fortress, they declared it had been constructed merely for the purpose of self defence. Finow then took up the discourse, stating, that he could not give his consent to terms which were inconsistent with his dignity, as supreme governor both of Hapai and Vavaoo, and that it was exceedingly hard he should suffer for the rashness

669 and impolicy of others, and that they should
728 cease to put that confidence in his wisdom and
634 justice which he hoped he had always merited. He then repeated the arguments in favour of his innocence, and, in conclusion, urged a proof of his love and affection for the people of Vavaoo, by reminding them of the readiness with which he formerly joined their late beloved chief, in the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo, and, by this means, freed Vavaoo and all the Tonga islands of a tyrant; and of the ardour with which he fought in alliance with that great hero, in the memorable battle of Tonga; and, although afterwards they (the Vavaoo people) opposed (from a mistaken notion) his progress in the same good cause, yet how happy they had been since their submission to him, and had received from his authority a good and wise chief (Toobó Nuha), and now that this great man had fallen a sacrifice to the ambition or malice of others, was it on that account that they ought to forego their reliance on the love and affection which he had hitherto so conspicuously shewn them? "But, as you seem "disposed," said he, "to live in idleness and "luxury, I will go and reside among a more "manly people, and prosecute war against the "island of Tonga." In reply to all this, they again assured him of their love and respect

for him as an individual, but, as they were de- 669
termined to live free, they would neither pro- 728
pose nor accept of any other terms. The king 634
then ordered his matabooles to conduct him to [565]
his canoe, and, turning towards the Vavaoo
people, said, "Live, then, among yourselves
"in idleness, and we will return to Hapai."

During the time that Finow was addressing the Vavaoo people, the matabooles and warriors that surrounded his canoe (among whom was Mr. Mariner) appeared much moved, and several shed tears, for his powers of persuasion were such, that, in defending his own cause, he seemed to be the most worthy, the most innocent, and the most unjustly used: on this account the greater chiefs and old matabooles of Vavaoo remained in the fortress, fearing to listen to his arguments, lest, being drawn aside by the power of his eloquence, they might mistake that for true which was not, and even lead the young and ardent warriors into an error, by persuading them that what he said was reasonable and just.

The fortress, on the top of a steep rising 712
ground, as seen from the canoes, presented a
most formidable and warlike appearance: its
extent seemed enormous, and the tops of the
white reeds, which were seen at a distance
above the banks of red clay, the whole being

712 strongly illuminated by the sun, represented to
the imagination of Mr. Mariner the spears and
javelins of ancient heroes, drawn up in battle
[714] array. On the top of the banks a number of
warriors, armed with clubs and spears, were
running to and fro, with fine light streamers,*
full thirteen feet long, attached to their heads
and arms, which, floating in the wind, produced a most romantic effect.

484 The king and his mataboolès being now returned to their canoe, the expedition pro-
634 ceeded out of the inlet, and arrived shortly at a
small island, on which they landed, and strip-
[722] ped it of almost all its cava root. It is here
proper to mention, that all the islands adjacent
to Vavaoo were deserted by order of Toe
Oomoo, that the people might be more safely
situated in or near the fortress, in case of an
invasion. The three canoes afterwards proceeded a little farther onward, and put in for
the night at a small island, called Hoonga,
about two miles from Vavaoo. The next
morning they resumed their voyage, and arrived
at Haano, the nearest of the Hapai islands,
in the afternoon.

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[824] * These streamers consist of the fine membrane stripped off from the under side of the cocoa-nut leaf.

CHAPTER VI.

Finow embarks again with all his army for Vavaoo, and arrives at Neafoo—Alarm in the night—Presence of mind in one of Finow's men—Plan of attack—Siege commences—An armistice—Accident to Mr. Mariner, which causes the battle to be renewed—Audacity of a Vavaoo warrior—Finow forbids the guns to be used—Sortie of the enemy—Bravery of Chiooloooa—Wonderful escape of Latoo Ila.—Conduct of the Hapai women—Finow's army returns to Neafoo, and builds a fortress there—Alarm in the night—Revolt of a young chief to the enemy, and the consequences—Slaughter of the enemy by an ambuscade—Sixty bodies offered to the gods—Cannibalism—Supposed treachery of Lioofau—The king returns thanks to his tutelar god—Hints of his priest—Apprehension and punishment of Mappa Haano—Regulations respecting deserters—Cruelties exercised upon four of the enemy—Desertion of Toobo Boogoo from the enemy—One of Finow's canoes surprised by an attack from Maccapapa at the island of Taoonga—Finow sends out an expedition against Maccapapa's canoes, and takes ten—Attack on the enemy's field of yams.—Mr. Mariner wounded—An attempt to secure the enemy's hogs. 000

The day after the return of the expedition, the 669
gods were invoked in the usual way, and the [187]
oracular answer was, to proceed immediately
to war against Vavaoo. All things being in 669
readiness, the following morning the king em- 726
barked with the whole of his forces, about 5000 [701]
men, besides 1000 women, in fifty large canoes,

669 with the four carronades, ammunition, and every
726 thing necessary for a vigorous attack upon the
strong fortress of Vavaoo. Towards evening,
[701] the fleet arrived at Fonnooi-fooa (one of the
small islands in the neighbourhood of Vavaoo),
whence Finow dispatched four canoes, manned
with select warriors, up the inlet, towards the
fortress, with orders to kill whomsoever they
could. They succeeded in killing three men,
[787] and severely wounding a fourth, whom, with
the three dead bodies, they brought to Finow.
Killing these three men, in the first attempt
upon the enemy, was by no means to be considered a trifling advantage, for it was supposed to augur the protection of the gods, and great future successes.

Early in the morning, the Hapai fleet proceeded up the inlet to Neafoo (the consecrated spot formerly mentioned), where they landed safely, leaving the women in the canoes. The four carronades were planted opposite the house of a neighbouring malái, ready to be drawn up the following morning to the fortress, which was about three miles off. The day was spent in settling and arranging sundry matters. During the night, which was exceedingly dark, a considerable degree of alarm was excited by two or three of the enemy, who approached, and threw a spear among a number of Finow's people, asleep near the house; it happened, 669 however, to strike a bundle of spears that was 726 placed upright against a tree, and, throwing it down, occasioned such a noise, that several of the men were awakened by it, who, thinking that the main body of the enemy was coming down upon them, began to run away; at this moment, one of them, more courageous than the rest, snatching up a piece of lighted wood, applied it to the touch-hole of one of the guns, which instantly went off, and produced such an effect on the enemy, that no more was heard of him that night. This certainly was a bold act for a man who had never before fired a gun in his life, and might in the worst case have been productive of the best effects, for, if the enemy had come in considerable numbers, as was at the moment falsely imagined, and this man had not had such presence of mind, all Finow's army might have been put completely to the rout, their guns taken from them, and a vast number of them slain: as it was, the report of the gun, awakening all who were yet asleep, induced such a degree of consternation as is scarcely to be conceived; they ran in all directions, but most of them to the canoes, and it was some time before their fears were sufficiently calmed for them to be induced to return. The man who performed this exploit received [703]

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669 726 [703] [565] much praise and respect for his bravery; as to promotion, it is a thing not known among them, for no man can hold a rank in society which he is not born to (see second volume); and as to other modes of reward, the merit of a good or brave action is considered its best reward, together with the admiration and respect which it creates, unless the party makes a point to boast of it, and then his merit is set almost at nought.

[634] [701] Early the following morning Finow divided his army into three grand divisions: the right wing was commanded by Toobó Tóa, the left by Lioofau, chief of Haano, and the centre by Finow himself: the guns were allotted, two to the centre, and one to each flank, and were managed by seven Englishmen, besides Mr. Mariner and a black native of South America, taken by the Port au Prince in one of her prizes. Matters being thus arranged, and Finow having repeated the orders he had formerly issued, viz. that his men should keep themselves perfectly steady, and not attack the enemy till they were quite close to them,—the army began its march towards the garrison. After four or five hours interrupted progress, owing chiefly to the weight of the guns and the badness of the road, they arrived before the fortress, on the banks of which a vast number of

the enemy were assembled. As they approached, 669
a shower of arrows was discharged upon 726
them; but Finow ordered a mataboole to advance
forward and request an armistice, that 669
each party might take leave of what friends and 726
relations they might have among their opponents*; 593
which being granted, a number came 602
out of the garrison to take a farewell of their
relatives,—perhaps the last farewell of those
who were about to fight against them. Here
ensued a moving scene; many tears were shed
on both sides, and many a last embrace exchanged.
This affecting spectacle had lasted 669
about two hours, when a circumstance accidentally 726
occurred, unfortunate enough in its 727
consequences, but which might have turned
out still more so. One of the enemy, upon the
outer bank of the fortress, wantonly shot an
arrow at Mr. Mariner, but which fortunately
missed him, and stuck in a tree close at his

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* In a civil war at these islands, as well as at other places, it often happens that sons have to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers; but what renders this circumstance still more common at Tonga, is the adherence to an old established custom, which binds every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happens to be at the time the war is declared, unless some circumstance, as particular relationship between great men, engages the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to depart.

669 elbow; he immediately turned about, and discovering
726 the man who discharged it, levelled
his musket, on the impulse of the moment, and
727 shot him dead upon the spot: instantly the
enemy sounded the war-whoop, and all was uproar
and confusion. The king, not understanding
the cause, was in a most violent rage with
Mr. Mariner, and would forthwith have dispatched
him with his club, had he been near
enough: his matabooles did all they could to
calm his temper, but he was not easily pacified:
he sent a man to Mr. Mariner to demand his
musket, but the latter, feeling himself aggrieved,
peremptorily refused: Finow, by this time, becoming
somewhat more calm, and learning the
true cause of the disaster, was speedily reconciled.
669 In the mean time the enemy, conceiving
726 this to be a piece of treachery, returned to
their entrenchments, and assailed the besiegers
with showers of arrows. The king now ordered
the great guns to open a fire upon the fort, but
they seemed to do little or no injury to the
works, owing to the height of the place and
the strength of the embankment; several, however,
were killed who ventured outside of it.
The firing had lasted, with occasional intermissions,
during six or seven hours, when a considerable
number of the enemy were perceived
coming out of the fencing, and sheltering

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

themselves behind the banks, with the evident intention of sallying forth. Upon this the king ordered all his men to sit down, and to remain perfectly quiet and steady, although the enemy should advance quite close to them, till they received his further orders to rise up and rush upon them. They accordingly sat down. A party of fifteen or sixteen now came down from the fort, and seven or eight of the Hapai people ran forward to skirmish with them. One of the advanced party of the enemy came up to within fifteen or sixteen yards of the carronade, of which Mr. Mariner had the charge, and there stood, brandishing his spear in a threatening attitude: Mr. Mariner immediately fired the gun at him, but the moment the match was applied the man fell flat on his face, and the shot missed him: the moment after he sprung up again, and advanced forward to within ten paces of the gun, dancing and making sundry warlike gesticulations; he then brandished and threw his spear, intending it to enter the gun, but it struck against the muzzle. Mr. Mariner, astonished at the boldness and presumption of this warrior, was determined to punish him for his rashness, and accordingly levelled his musket, but just as he was pulling the trigger, an arrow struck the barrel of the piece, and caused him to miss his aim. The warrior

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669 then shouted aloud, and returned with all speed
726 to the fortress. Here the reader will no doubt
727 recollect the bravado of a man who assumed
the name of Fanna Fonnooa (p. 149), and declared that he would advance boldly up to a gun and throw his spear into the mouth of it, by way of expressing his contempt for this instrument of warfare. This warrior was the man; and he no doubt would have shared a severer fate, had Mr. Mariner been prepared for him, but having treated that threat as an idle boast, he had altogether forgotten the circumstance, and did not again reflect on it till after it was over.

669 The main body of the enemy was still sta-
tioned behind the banks, upon places cut for
726 them to stand on, so that they were defended breast high, and thus had an opportunity of discharging their arrows in abundance, without much risk of receiving a shot in return. After a time, however, they came forth from their strong hold, and assembled on the outside, forming themselves quickly into three divisions, the same as Finow's army. Most of the greatest and bravest warriors stationed themselves in the left wing, with the view of descending, with all their concentrated power, on Finow's right wing, commanded by Toobó Tóa, along with whom were the other principal

men that had assassinated Toobó Nuha, six or 669
seven in number: against *each* of these twenty 726
of the enemy's left wing had orders to throw their spears, at a signal to be given, without directing their attention particularly to any one else, each party of twenty having singled out its man. These matters having been arranged, and having stationed themselves outside the bank as above stated, the whole advanced slowly and steadily forward. Finow's men still remained seated on the ground, according to the orders that had been given them, except a few who danced before them, by way of showing their contempt for the enemy, and of provoking them to hostilities. Mr. Mariner re- [727]
quested Finow to order these men in, that a cannonade might be opened upon the enemy; but the king objected, stating that as they ventured forward in an open body he would receive their attack, and fight them upon equal terms; that these guns gave him too great an advantage, such as he scorned to take; that it was more honourable to fight them man to man than to use against them arms that were rather fitted for the hostilities of spirits than of men*:

* The use of artillery seems to have conveyed to the imagination of Finow the same idea of tremendous warfare as is inspired by the expression of our great poet—

"Battle dangerous to less than gods."

669 726 [727] at the same time he returned his thanks for the advantages formerly derived from the use of these weapons, which he thought well calculated for the destruction of forts.

The enemy now advanced within thirty paces, and threw their spears: instantly the Hapai army, too eager to remain longer quiet, sprang up, and rushing upon their foes, a close engagement commenced, which was obstinately maintained for about an hour, when the enemy were repulsed, and beaten completely back into their fortress. It was now twilight, but the Hapai warriors pursued them to their very doors. One chief in particular, Chioolooa, although he was wounded in the breast by a five-barbed spear, the shaft of which he had broken off, rushed even within the banks of their fortress, and there knocked out a man's brains; in making his retreat, however, he was wounded in the back by another spear, which, not being barbed, he drew out, and ran back to his own party; but the wound was mortal, and he lingered till the next day. This was the same chief, who, on the day of Toobó Nuha's burial, challenged any of the Vavaoo people to fight him (p. 145): he came to battle, he said, with a kind of presentiment that he should be killed, and was determined, therefore, to sell his life as dearly as possible.

It is not at all extraordinary that most of those who had assisted in the assassination of Toobó Nuha should fall victims, in this battle, to the vengeance of the enemy; but it is very extraordinary that one among them, viz. Latoo Ila, (who, as may be remembered, insulted the body of Toobó Nuha, and upbraided him with the murder of his father), should altogether escape without a single wound or hurt worth mentioning; although he, like the rest of the assassins, was the object of the vengeance of twenty men combined against him. This circumstance gave rise to the general opinion that he was defended by the gods. He certainly fought with uncommon bravery, and this was the first time that he had distinguished himself; but it must be kept in recollection, that he was fighting against a party whose late chief had slain his own father. [669 727]

During this battle several of the Hapai women came to the scene of action, that they might be near their husbands to assist them if wounded. One of them, the wife of Toobó Tóa, (Toobó Aho Mëë,) was taken prisoner by the enemy, but extremely well used by them; and about three weeks afterwards she was sent back, from motives of respect, because she was a great egi (chief) of the family of Tooitonga (vide Rank in society, second volume): had [565]

669 she been of the king's family, she would no
727 doubt have been retained a prisoner.

[565] Night was now set in, but, by Finow's orders,
a firing was kept up, merely with stones, to
669 avoid a waste of shot, because no good aim
726 could be taken: this lasted for about an hour.
[565] The king's matabooles then made several
speeches to the garrison, soliciting the Vavaoo
chiefs to submit to the government of Finow,
but they objected, under the apprehension that
they should be afterwards killed by the trea-
[634] chery of the king or of Toobó Tóa. Finow
then addressed them, threatening to remain
there the whole night, and the next day to set
about building a fort opposite theirs, and to
keep up the war until they either yielded or
were destroyed.

Shortly after this, however, he gave orders to his men to repair as silently and as speedily as possible to Neáfoo. He deceived the enemy in this way, to prevent them proceeding by another road, and cutting off his retreat. The guns were given in charge to some of the principal warriors, with men under their command
669 to drag them along. The labour of doing this
726 for three miles was by no means trifling, particu-
718 larly as the road was very uneven: they swore
829 heartily at all guns, and all Englishmen for
making them, and wanted to know why they

could not construct them a little lighter; or at 669
least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the 726
guns, they ought to have, they said, the inge- [713]
nuity also to make legs for them to walk with. [829]

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numerous other instances, found the advantage of 705
having an adopted mother, by whom he was 262
provided with plenty of good food, consisting [727]
of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. [597]
They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

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* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

The next morning, after the men had refreshed
669 themselves, armed parties were sent out
712 to cut reeds, for the purpose of building a fortress
at Nëáfoo: Finow and his principal chiefs
remained to lay out the plan, whilst others were
employed in digging a ditch about fourteen
feet wide and ten feet deep. The spot on
which this fortress was planned out was so situated,
that one side was close upon the sea-shore,
on a steep rocky bank, and therefore required
no further defence, for the enemy had no large
canoes, having broken up all they had to make
small ones, and with these it would be imprudent
to venture as far as Neafoo, lest their retreat
should be cut off by Finow's larger and
669 swifter canoes. In the course of the day the
726 fencing and ditch were tolerably well completed,
so that the following night the greater
164 part of the army slept on shore; but they were
165 not without alarm, for about midnight, a small
party of the enemy having come down to reconnoitre,
looked through the openings of some
part of the fencing that was not quite finished,
and seeing several of the men sitting round a

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[705] **and turbot, and found the assertion perfectly correct: all**
[262] **the preparation necessary, is to take off the skin, and wash the fish with a little salt water; it will then taste as relishing as the oyster, and very similar to it. If we eat the oyster raw, why not other fish?**

fire conversing together, they threw several 669
spears at them, which wounded many, and 726
struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was [164]
instantly in a state of confusion; and a great
number so far lost their presence of mind as to [165]
endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus *) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly.

During the following day the fencing was 669
completed, and a second ditch was planned 712
round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëáfoo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide,
and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, 669
and the fortress completed. In the mean time 723
the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either

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* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

669 723 side. Four or five women, however, revolted from the enemy, and brought information that the chiefs of Vavaoo, having now revenged themselves on most of Toobó Nuha's murderers, had come to the resolution of waiting a little time without having recourse to any offensive measures, with a view of ascertaining what Finow's real intentions were.

[634] [726] The fortress being now quite completed, and the guns stationed one at each of the four entrances, of which there were two in front (on the inland side) and one on each of the other two sides; Finow gave orders that a strong party should go forth early in the morning, towards the enemy's fortress, and destroy all the plantations they could come at, but in case of an attack, they should make their retreat as speedily as possible. In the afternoon they returned laden with yams, plantains, &c. but having met with a sudden attack from the enemy, had lost several of their men. They brought intelligence that they had discovered a large field of fine yams nearly full grown, but it was so well defended that they could not with prudence make an attack upon it. Finow resolved to remain quiet the following night, lest the enemy should be lying in wait for him, but the night after that to proceed with a large and strong party to plunder and destroy this planta-

tion. In the mean time a young chief revolted to the enemy, and communicated Finow's intentions with certain additional details, which, however false, served to raise him in the opinion of the enemy, and establish his credit with them. He informed them, over and above the actual truth, that his own father Lioofau was to remain behind in the *colo* (fortress) with a small party to defend it, but that being secretly an enemy to Finow, he would without doubt readily yield up the place to them. Upon the strength of this information they laid their plan accordingly: a large party of warriors, well armed, were to conceal themselves in a thick wood at no great distance from the field of yams, through which wood passed a road leading from Finow's *colo*: they were to lie down on the ground and cover themselves with branches, &c. that as soon as Finow's army had passed, they might be able to cut off their retreat: at the same time another strong party was to advance upon Nëáfoo, and take advantage of the supposed treacherous disposition of Lioofau. 669 723

Finow having arranged *his* plan, set off very early in the morning with the far larger part of his men, leaving the remainder under the command of Lioofau to take care of the *colo*. Very fortunately for Finow, before he had advanced 669 726 634

669 far, he met a man who had deserted from the
726 enemy, and who informed him of their knowledge
634 of his expedition, their plan of frustrating
his object, as well as the alleged treachery of
Lioofau. The king upon hearing this, before
he advanced a step farther, ordered Lioofau
into immediate confinement, with a strong
guard over him. This being done, he proceeded
towards the fortress of Felletoa, and
taking advantage of the information given him
by the deserter, actually hemmed in the very
party that would otherwise have done the same
669 to him. These, finding themselves, contrary
726 to their expectations, surrounded by Finow's
727 army, and seeing no other resource than to endeavour
to force their way through, made the
attempt, and succeeded, after a hard struggle,
attended by great slaughter: sixty of the enemy
were killed, and fourteen or fifteen of the
Hapai people also fell. The enemy now retreated
towards the field of yams, to join those
who were stationed there for its defence; and
Finow, thinking it hazardous to make a farther
attack, retired back upon Neafoo, taking with
him the sixty dead bodies. The other party of
the enemy that had, in the mean while, advanced
to Neafoo, finding the place not under
the command of Lioofau, suspected some deception,
and made a speedy retreat.

The king and his army being arrived at their 669
fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to 727
the different gods that had houses dedicated to 634
them within the place. In performing this ceremony 782
the people formed a large circle on the
ground, with the king at the upper end. The
bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a
man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared
aloud their number. The king then ordered
that so many should be allotted to such a god,
and so many to such another, and so of the
rest. The names of these gods were Tali y [776]
Toobo, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Toobo
lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first
only are imaginary beings, the others are souls
of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess,
the soul of a female chief of that name. This 669
being done, the bodies were carried away, and 727
laid before the houses of the different gods to 266
whom they were allotted: where, after they [766]
had remained three or four hours, those who
had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo [763]
were carried away and buried; and the remainder, [752]
which were only nine or ten in number,
were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed
of in different ways: two or three were
hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three
were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

669 whether their insides were sound and entire*,
727 and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three
266 were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which
[766] about forty men partook. This was the second
[763] instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner wit-
[752] nessed, but the natives of these islands are not
[177] to be called cannibals on this account: so far
from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow
669 began to make enquiries respecting the alleged
687 treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable
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* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes
[784] upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his
[827] liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime.
[164] The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

of urging any thing against him, and he solemnly 669
declaring his innocence, and stating 687
that his son must have invented this tale to 634
answer some purpose with the enemy; moreover, having always borne a good character and been well beloved by his men, and believed to have been always firmly attached to the interests of Finow, he was set at liberty and restored to his post.

The day after this chief was reinstated, Finow 669
ordered the ceremony of drinking cava to 727
the priest of his tutelar god Toobó Totai, by 276
way of gratitude for the late victory. This ceremony 787
is exactly the same as that of invoking 793
a god through the medium of his priest; and consists merely in the customary form of sitting down to make cava in the presence of a priest, (he presiding at the head of the ring). In this instance, after the cava, pork, &c. had been served out, one of the matabooles, in a few words, thanked the god in the person of the priest for the late signal victories. The priest in answer, after waiting for another dish of cava, declared that Finow would at length succeed in his war against Felletoa, but that this fortress was not the strongest power he had to contend with, for the seeds of insurrection were already sown in his own army, and although Lioofau was perfectly innocent of what had been al-

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no
727 great distance from him for whom so much
276 could not be said. The god having conde-
787 scended to declare this, left his priest, and the
793 latter arose and went away; the company then
broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice
of what the priest declared, not wishing the
circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow
669 brought him secret intelligence that he had
634 heard that several men had been sent off at dif-
565 ferent times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress
687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the
558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the in-
tention of doing what Lioofau had been un-
[292] justly accused of and imprisoned for. The king
[301] immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed
[576] the summons, and came drest up in mats, with
[793] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humi-
liation and fear) attended by a priest. When
669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat
634 down before it; then the priest rose and ad-
565 vancing nearer to Finow, who was seated just
687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat
558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano
793 had requested his intermediation, to express for
him the sentiments of self-accusation with
which he felt himself oppressed, and his ac-
knowledgment of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

now should think proper to take away his life. 669
The king replied, that he did not mean to take 634
away his life, for that it was not the custom at 565
Tonga to kill those of whom one has no reason 687
to be afraid, and that he did not think it worth 558
his while to destroy a mere butterfly, (an insignificant [793]
being) but that he should take other measures of punishment not less exemplary. He then desired the culprit to consider himself for the future as divested of all power and rank, no longer to be the commander of men, but a single and unprotected individual; that his chiefship from that moment was null, and that consequently he was never more to take his seat as a chief, at his cava ceremonies[*]. A certain chief, who was present, observed to Finow that if he suffered this man to live, although he was deprived of power, he might nevertheless by pernicious counsel inspire other chiefs with sentiments derogatory to the welfare of Finow's government. To which the king replied, that this was not a war between men, in whose success or ill success the gods took no interest, but one in which his tutelar god, Toobo Totai, presided in a particular manner

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[*] One who is born a chief is always a chief, and all who [576]
associate with him must, as a point of religious duty, shew him the customary forms of respect; but in consequence of this sentence, nobody would associate with Mappa Haano.

669 over his fortune and welfare, and that this god
634 would take care that such pernicious attempts,
565 on the part of the disgraced chief, should not
687 affect the other chiefs of his army, or if they
558 did, that he should be made acquainted with it
by the priest.—The company now dispersed.

After this period Mappa Haano always wore
565 mats as significant of his degraded state. He
558 seldom attended any public ceremonies or as-
292 semblies, because it obliged him to sit along with the common people, and he could not brook, on such occasions, to feel so much his inferiority to other chiefs who formerly were his equals. It must not be supposed that he always wore these mats from pure humility, but rather from fear, for had he appeared without them, Finow might have been angry, and death might have been the consequence.

There being now every day some desertion or
669 another from either army to the opposite one, the
687 king issued orders that every deserter from the
634 enemy should be put to death, the same as if he had been a deserter from himself. This he did the better to avoid all communication between the two contending armies.

For some time past several of Finow's men
669 had been killed in different instances, by three
726 or four of the enemy, under the command of a warrior named Moteitá, a most expert and

daring fellow, who often ventured by night 669
and early in the morning close up to the *colo* 726
of Neafoo to kill any stragglers they could meet with. One morning a party of Finow's men, twelve or fourteen in number, among whom was Mr. Mariner, being out on a little excursion, surprised four of the enemy, who were busily employed digging *ma*[*] in a pit: these they immediately laid hold of, and dragged out, to take them home prisoners. Imagining 669
they had got Moteitá and his followers who had 727
so often committed depredations upon them, they resolved to make a signal example of their prisoners. A young chief, however, objected to this measure, and proposed that it would be better to decapitate them at once, and take their heads home. This plan was immediately [412]
assented to, but some one observing that they [237]
had no knives with them, another casting his eyes upon the ground, remarked, there was something that would do as well; and taking up a shell from a neighbouring spot, where some persons had been eating large pearl oysters, he proposed to proceed to work with oyster-shells as substitutes for knives: this was immediately approved of, and the four unfortunate

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[*] Ma is a species of prepared food, consisting of bread-fruit, or plantains, or bananas; buried for a considerable time under ground, in order to ferment. [262] [252]

669 victims were taken in hand. It was in vain
727 that they begged their lives, protesting that
[412] they were not the persons they had taken them
[237] for: in vain did Mr. Mariner point out the
cruelty of the act, urging them at least to kill them first speedily, and cut off their heads afterwards: to this remonstrance they answered that their prisoners deserved to be severely punished for the many atrocities they had committed; and as to killing them first, and cutting off their heads afterwards, they thought it unnecessary trouble. This horrible piece of cruelty was accordingly committed on the spot. They began the operation, (after having stripped themselves, to prevent their garments from getting bloody;) by haggling at the back of the neck; they then cut gradually round the throat, till they had got through every thing but the spine, which they divided by turning the head down, and giving it a violent twist. This being done, they washed themselves, resumed their *gnatoos*, and proceeded with the four heads to the garrison.
669 It was still early when they arrived, and
727 they found the king sitting with his friends on
634 the *malái* drinking cava. The four heads were
brought to him by different men, and placed in the middle of the circle upright with their faces towards Finow, who returned his thanks (as customary) to those who had killed them. Mr.

Mariner having seated himself near Finow, the 669
latter asked him why they did not kill them 727
at once, without cutting off their heads: this 634
question he asked partly from motives of humanity, and partly to know why they took so much trouble about them.

A few days after this event, Tooboo Boogoo, 669
a certain priest, belonging to the *colo* of Felletoa, 723
and who was a relation of Finow, having 793
been consulted, regarding some matters of policy, gave advice which appeared to the Vavaoo chiefs more consonant to Finow's interests than their own, and they accordingly objected to it, declaring that he wanted to act a treacherous part in thus befriending his relation: upon which he told them that if they could place no credit in his word, nor confidence in his honesty, he was of no use to them, and therefore they had better kill him at once, or at least confine him;—or if they had a mind to behave generously towards him, permit him to go away and live with Finow: the chiefs replied that they should take a little time to consider of it. He did not think proper, however, to wait for their decision, but made his escape early one morning, and took refuge with Finow, whom he informed of a design the enemy had of besieging him. In consequence of this information every preparation was made to put the fortress in the best possible state of defence.

669 Some time now elapsed in expectation of the
enemy's approach; but there were no signs of
634 them. Finow, in the mean while, came to a
361 determination of making Vavaoo his place of
constant residence. This he did for two reasons,
first, because it was the largest and most
fruitful of all his islands; and secondly, because
by his presence he could better govern a people
who appeared to be so little attached to his interests.
669 It was now the scarce time of the
724 year, and his stock of provisions began to grow
short: it was necessary therefore to dispatch
canoes to the Hapai islands for a fresh supply,
that might last them till the season had so far
advanced as to provide them with the vegetable
produce of the surrounding country. A large
canoe was therefore got ready, with orders to
return with yams and *ma*; she had an additional
number of hands on board, with which to man
another canoe that they were to bring back
with them, laden in like manner. Several
women and children also took this opportunity
of going to Hapai to see their friends. One
morning the canoe set sail for one of the Vavaoo
islands, called Taoonga, with the intention
of remaining there during the night, and of departing
again very early the following morning,
to prosecute the voyage. Whilst here, however,
the wind unfortunately changed, and they
were under the necessity of remaining at Ta-

oonga several days. For the first two or three 669
days they kept a good look-out, lest they should 724
be surprised by the enemy, and at night slept
on board the canoe; but not finding themselves 669
disturbed by any one, they at length relaxed 726
their vigilance, and slept on shore by large 724
fires; in consequence of which they met with a sad disaster. On the fifth night they had lighted their fires as usual, and the greater part had fallen asleep, when forty or fifty of the enemy's choicest warriors, commanded by Máccapápa, rushed suddenly upon them. The enemy had heard from some stragglers, that this expedition to Hapai had been obliged to remain at Taoonga; they accordingly put to sea in their small canoes, and arrived at the opposite side of the island after dark: great part of them landed, and being guided by the fires, fell upon those who were reposing in imaginary security, and with their clubs made an end of about eight and twenty: the remainder escaped to the canoe, but not without much difficulty; for some of their companions who had remained to take care of it, being alarmed by the uproar of this sudden attack on shore, had pushed off into deep water; so that those who made their escape from the beach were obliged to swim, and several of them were much wounded by spears thrown at them. Under cover of the

669 darkness they got off to a neighbouring island;
726 and early in the morning, the wind becoming
[724] more favourable, they proceeded on their voyage.

In the mean while a man ran away from the enemy's garrison, and brought information of the departure of Maccapapa to attack the Hapai expedition. Finow ordered several large canoes to put to sea immediately, in pursuit of them. This was speedily accomplished, and in the course of a few hours they came up with Maccapapa's canoes, and took ten of them. Many attempted to make their escape to the shore; but being prevented by the large canoes from proceeding to the regular landing-places, they were under the necessity of venturing their necks by climbing up steep rocks that rose almost perpendicularly from the water. In this attempt some fell and were killed. Thus were Finow's men revenged.

A fortnight now elapsed without any material circumstance occurring: almost every day, however, there was some little skirmish with the enemy; but which led to no particular re-
669 sult. At the end of this time, the canoes from
726 Hapai not being yet returned, Finow began
724 to turn his thoughts more seriously than ever
towards the large field of yams before spoken
725 of. He made preparations therefore for an at-

tack upon it: hoping that if he did not succeed 669
in procuring some yams, he should at least be 726
able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. 724
With this view he picked out some of 725
the choicest of his men, about eighty in number, and gave them orders to conceal themselves, during the night, in a thicket close to the enemy's fortress, and on one side of the road. Finow in the mean while proceeded with a party of six hundred towards Felletoa. When he arrived within a quarter of a mile of the fort, it being yet dark, he took up his station in a field of high grass, situated in a valley, which could not be seen by the enemy. He then dispatched a hundred men to dig up the yams, and fifty more, under the command of Hala Api Api, (an adopted son of the late Toobó Nuha,) to the fortress, with a view of enticing the enemy out, and leading them beyond the ambuscade. The enemy, however, kept close within his entrenchments. The fact was, there were not many men in the place, at least not great warriors, the rest having gone to another part of the island to launch a large canoe, for the purpose of bringing it round to the garrison to break up and make small ones of. But as soon as the enemy discovered Hala Api Api, they sent down to their companions at the further side of the island, to inform them of what

669 was going forward. They came as soon as
726 they possibly could, but too late to save the
724 yams. As soon as they arrived at the fort and
saw the field of yams completely despoiled,
725 they became dreadfully enraged, and rushed
out in a body upon Hala Api Api, who imme-
diately retreated, with a design of drawing them
669 on beyond the two ambuscades. In this, for
the most part, he succeeded to his wishes; for
726 the enemy were so blinded by their rage, and
725 pushed on by desire of revenge, that they did
not reflect on the probability that there was
some stratagem. They continued to follow,
and he to retreat, till they passed the first am-
bush, where Finow lay concealed, and were fast
advancing towards the second, when Finow's
men, too eager for conquest, rose up and at-
tacked them in the rear: the second ambush,
hearing the noise of this attack, immediately
started up, and joining Hala Api Api, a hard
and close fight was kept up for about a quarter
of an hour; when the enemy finding themselves
too strongly opposed, retreated towards the for-
tress, in which they took shelter, being pursued
close up to their doors by the Hapai warriors.
669 Having recovered themselves a little from their
726 consternation, they prepared to renew the com-
bat, and again sallied forth, and commenced a
general engagement with spears and arrows,

which lasted about three quarters of an hour; 669
when they again took shelter within their walls. 726
In the first engagement the enemy had forty
men killed, and Finow only two: in the last at- 669
tack they had only one man killed, and Finow 727]
none, though several died afterwards of their
wounds; but this was only an engagement with [726]
arrows and spears, which they are very dexterous
in avoiding: clubs were not used; for the
enemy were upon a higher ground, and it
would not have been prudent to have attacked
them with the club, and risk the loss of their
former advantages; and the enemy were too
much discouraged to venture into the plain for
this purpose. The day was so rainy that no
muskets could be well used. In the last affair [752]
Mr. Mariner received an arrow in his foot,
which passed quite through the broadest part of [413]
it: luckily it was not a bearded arrow; but the
wound was, nevertheless, a very bad one; for
the weapon being made of a short, splintering
wood, it broke in, and consequently he was afterwards disabled for several months; for the
Tonga surgeons have not the best instruments
in the world, and the pieces of wood they took
out from time to time, by no better means than
cutting down upon them with sharp shells, or
bamboo; which rendered the affair very tedious and painful.

669 The Hapai army being returned to Neafoo,
723 Finow gave orders that no man should venture
out for some time, lest, the vigilance and anger
of the enemy being now so strongly excited,
some should fall a prey to their rashness.

669 About a week afterwards, a warrior, named
724 Havili, requested leave of Finow to permit him
to go in a large canoe, with an armed party, to
the north-west part of the island, to secure a
number of hogs, which the enemy kept there in
a fencing, observing, that it would be but proper
to relish the Vavaoo yams with a little Vavaoo
[701] pork! Havili was a man remarkable for laying
hold of every opportunity of undertaking secret
expeditions by night; and he was thought to
have killed more men in his time than any other
warrior.

The king having granted him leave, he went
669 on board a canoe, with forty stout men, and
724 proceeded towards the place. The enemy,
726 however, had previously sent an additional
force to take care of their hogs, thinking, very
justly, that Finow might be encouraged to turn
his attention to that quarter, from having met
with such success in the field of yams. It happened, one night, that part of this guard, sauntering about upon the beach, perceived a large canoe coming towards them. They immediately sent word to their companions, and, se-

parating into two parties, concealed themselves 669
on either side of the road leading to the fencing. 724
The canoe having reached the shore, half the 726
men landed with Havili at their head, and proceeded
towards the place where the hogs were
kept. They had no sooner passed the spot 669
where the enemy lay concealed, than the latter 669
rushed out, and attacked them in the rear so 727
suddenly, and with such effect, that fifteen 726
were quickly dispatched, the enemy only losing one man, who was killed by Havili. This warrior and his four remaining men effected their escape to their companions in the canoe, and pushed from the shore as quickly as possible. As they were paddling off, the enemy called out to them in derision, "What! you wanted "some pork, did you?—how do you like your "treat?—but stay, here are some fine pigs for "you, ready killed" (alluding to the dead bodies), "why don't you come and take them "away?"—but Havili and his men, sorely discomfited, returned home without making any farther attempt.

CHAPTER VII.

000 Desertion of one of Finow's wives, and the wife of the prince —Rencontre between one of the fugitives and Mr. Mariner—Attempt to take the enemy's women while gathering shell-fish—Dispute about the female prisoners—Return of the Hapai canoes with provisions—Palavali's attack upon a party of the enemy, and killing a man within a sacred fencing—Strangling a child as an atonement for this sacrilege—Death of Palavali—Finow, growing tired of the war, in an artful manner negotiates a peace—Finow's apology for the conduct of the Vavaoo people at an entertainment given them—Entertainment given by the Vavaoo chiefs to Finow and his chiefs—Sentiments respecting praise, bravery, &c.—New regulations of Finow—Toobo Toa' deputed tributary governor of the Hapai islands—His arrival at the Hapai islands, accompanied by the prince and Mr. Mariner.

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A FEW days after Havili's unsuccessful attempt to secure the enemy's hogs, one of Finow's wives ran away from Neafoo; being shortly missed by the rest of the women, in searching for her, it was found that one of his son's wives had taken the same step, and it was supposed they had gone together. When this was made known to the king, he left the fortress instantly, accompanied by five or six men, and directed his course along the main road leading to Felletoa, but without any success. He returned

very much dejected, and sent to his aunt, Toe 669
Oomoo (the chief of the enemy), requesting to 722
have his wife returned, stating, that it was a 586
war between men, and not women; but his remonstrances
had no effect. These women both
laboured under the jealousy and tyrannic influence
of Möonga Toobo, Finow's favourite
wife: partly to rid themselves of this, and
partly to visit and live with relations they had in
the opposite garrison, they made their escape,
and took a by road near the sea-shore. On 669-
the morning of their departure, Mr. Mariner 586
was at some distance from Neafoo, gathering 722
shaddocks in a thicket: for, although his wound 727
did not allow him to use any active exertions,
yet he now and then went abroad by the help
of a stick, which, no doubt, was one cause that
rendered the cure very tedious. Being up in a
tree, he heard a rustling noise in the bushes
below, and, directing his attention to the spot,
was surprised to see one of Finow's wives.
Prompted by curiosity, he came quickly down,
and, seizing her by the arm, inquired what
caused her to stray so far from the fortress, and
to expose her person and her life to the insults
and cruelty of the enemy: she replied, that she
had only come out for a walk, and was going
shortly to return. To this account he objected,
that it was too far, and too dangerous a walk

669 for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting
586 Moteita and his followers, who often concealed
722 themselves in those woods, and declared his
727 suspicion that she intended to run away. She
immediately fell on her knees, clasped her hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly, that he would not prevent her flight from the dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her relations, and appealed most pathetically to his own feelings and affections towards his mother, or whatever relatives he might have in his own country; and represented how hard and cruelly severe it would be for any one to prevent him flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power. Being moved by the earnestness of her manner, and the unfortunate circumstances of her situation, he raised her up, and promised not to interfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed whichever way she thought proper.

669 Finow had, for a long time past, entertained
the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's
726 women, who were in the habit of assembling
226 at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish,
[723] and now, that his wife had run away, he was
[634] more than ever encouraged to do this, by way
of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the detention of her. The place where they procured this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

a foot and a half deep at low water), that ran 669
across the inlet at no great distance from Feletoa. 726
Upon this shelf they were accustomed to
fish every day, wading through the water. On [226]
these occasions,* several men of their own party had frequently alarmed them by rushing out upon them, pretending to be the enemy, and had repeated this so often, that, at length, they only laughed at the joke, and ridiculed the idea of running away. One evening a party of Finow's men, who had formed themselves for the express purpose of making an attack upon these women, set out in a canoe, and sailed to a part of the island where they could land unobserved, and proceed to the spot where they were fishing, without any danger of discovery, on account of the high bushes that were there in abundance. Being arrived on the spot, at an appointed signal they rushed out upon the women, who immediately set up a hearty laugh, taking them for their old friends, so fond of a joke; but, when they saw two or three knocked down with clubs, they ran away as fast as their strength and the resistance of the water would let them, and the men after them in full pursuit. There [727]
were thirty of them, of which number five were killed, and thirteen taken prisoners, the other twelve escaping safe to the opposite shore. In this affair the wife of Finow's son was very

669 726 nearly retaken; she ran so exceedingly swift through the water, knee-deep, and the young chief in pursuit of her exerted himself so much to overtake her, although he was near enough to knock her down with his club, that he actually fell through fatigue. It must, however, be said in favour of the chief, that the weight of his club was a great disadvantage, whereas his lovely fugitive ran without any incumbrance, for, in her endeavour to quicken her pace, her gnatoo (dress) became loose, and fell from her waist; this was the only time that she looked back, from a sense of modesty, to see if it was recoverable, but she was under the necessity of pursuing her flight without it.

669 727 The thirteen prisoners were conducted to Neafoo*, though Finow had given orders that all that should be taken should be killed on the spot. The captors saved their lives, however, partly from motives of humanity, and partly

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[833] * They were obliged, however, by the way, to submit to the will of their captors, for this is always considered a thing of course, and not at all an act of brutality. These transactions are generally conducted in neighbouring woods, and by no means in an open, public, or outrageous way. In short, notions of delicacy, in respect to the female sex, have a much higher influence in the Tonga islands than what would be commonly understood from the accounts of some travellers: among the lower orders, of course, there are abuses every where, but these do not constitute the legal customs of a country.

from those of profit (as they could employ them 669
in making gnatoo, &c.) When they arrived at 727
Neafoo, there happened a strong dispute between
several relations of the prisoners, and 669
those who had taken them; the former arguing 727
that they had a claim to the women, according 578
to the old Tonga custom, which decrees, that [602]
all persons shall be in the service of their older
and superior relations, if those relations think
proper to employ them: the captors, on the
other hand, strenuously grounded their claims
on the right of conquest. The dispute ran 669
very high, and they referred it to Finow, who 727
replied, that he should not interfere in it, and 578
they might settle it themselves as well as they 634
could, for they had no right to bring the prisoners 627
there to create disturbances, but should
have dispatched them according to his orders.
At length he condescended to give his opinion,
viz. that the most proper method would be,
under these circumstances, to cut each woman
in two, and give one half to her relation, and
the other to the captor. The affair, however, 669
was amicably settled, without having recourse 727
to such bloody measures; some being given up 578
to their relatives, and others retained, upon
terms mutually agreeable to all parties.

About this time the two long expected canoes 669
arrived from Hapai, laden with provisions: they 724

669 had been detained partly by contrary winds,
724 and partly by the people going to visit their
relatives at different islands.

It has already been mentioned, more than
778 once, that places, which have been consecrated
726 either by express declaration, or by the burial
688 of great chiefs, are forbidden to be the scene of
war, and that it would be highly sacrilegious to attack an enemy, or spill his blood within their
669 confines. This circumstance, however, occurred
726 a few days after the dispute about the female
prisoners; the particulars of it are as follow:
778 Palavali (brother of Havili), went out one day
688 on a foraging party with six men in two small canoes, and landed near a consecrated inclosure, called Guacao, one of the most fertile places in the whole island. Here they met with four of the enemy, who, perceiving their inferiority, made an endeavour to get into the consecrated place, where they would have been perfectly safe: Palavali, however, seeing their intention, got between them and the fencing, when one of the enemy made a bold push to pass his antagonist, and scramble over the reed-work, and had actually got one leg over, when Palavali struck him a furious blow on the head, and felled him dead within the place; seeing now what he had done, he was struck with fear, and ran away to the canoes, followed by his men,

As soon as he arrived at the fortress, he com- 669
municated to Finow what had passed, saying, in 688
his defence, that he was so eager in pursuit, as 727
to be out of all self command. The king im-
mediately ordered cava to be taken to the priest 669
of his own tutelar god, that the divinity might 688
be consulted as to what atonement was proper 787
to be made for so heinous a sacrilege. The priest [782]
being inspired, made answer, that it was ne-
cessary a child should be strangled to appease [783]
the anger of the gods*. The chiefs, then, held 669
a consultation, and came to the determination 688
of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa, by one of
his female attendants†. Toobo Toa was pre- 782
sent, and gave his consent that his child (about 783
two years old) should be immolated to appease
the anger of the gods, and turn aside their ven-
geance for the sacrilegious crime committed.
The child was accordingly sought for; but its
mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded,
had concealed it: being, at length, found by

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* This is perfectly consistent with the Tonga custom, whenever the divinities are supposed to be exceedingly offended. It is a piece of superstition far from being uncommon in the history of mankind. Unpleasant truths as well as agreeable ones must be sought out and related, if we wish to arrive at a true knowledge of our own nature.

† On such occasions, the child of a male chief is always [565] chosen, as being worthier than others, and a child by an inferior female attendant, because it is not a chief; only those children being chiefs whose mothers are chiefs.

669 one of the men who were in search of it, he
688 took it up in his arms, smiling with delight at
being taken notice of. Its poor mother wanted
782 to follow, but was held back by those about
783 her; on hearing its mother's voice it began to
cry, but, when it arrived at the fatal place of
its execution, it was pleased and delighted with
the band of gnatoo that was put round its neck,
and, looking up in the face of the man who was
about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful
countenance a smile of ineffable pleasure; such
a sight inspired pity in the breast of every one:
but veneration and fear of the gods was a sentiment
superior to every other, and its destroyer
could not help exclaiming, as he put on the
fatal bandage, *O iaoué chi vale!* (poor little innocent!)
Two men then tightened the cord by
pulling at each end, and the guiltless and unsuspecting
victim was quickly relieved of its
[292] painful struggles. The body was then placed
upon a sort of hand-barrow, supported upon
[301] the shoulders of four men, and carried in a procession
of priests, chiefs, and matabooles clothed
in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round
their necks. In this manner it was conveyed to
various houses consecrated to different gods,
before each of which it was placed on the
ground, all the company sitting behind it, except
one priest, who sat beside it, and prayed

aloud to the god that he would be pleased to 669
accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the 688
heinous sacrilege committed, and that punishment 782
might accordingly be withheld from the 783
people. When this had been done before all
the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body
was given up to its relations, to be buried in
the usual manner.

About four or five days after the above horrible 669
immolation, this same Palavali was killed
in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out 726
again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or
40 men, not professed warriors, but men on
whose courage and honour no reliance could be
placed. They met with a smaller body of the
enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men;
in a very short time Palavali's men turned about
to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally
them, and facing the enemy again to set them
the example, he received several wounds and
fell. At this moment his men also faced about,
and seeing the perilous situation of their chief,
became animated with courage, and drove the
enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three
picked him up and carried him to the fortress.
When they arrived they proceeded to take [784]
out four spears which had pierced him, but he
desired them to desist from so useless a task, [761]
as he was certain the gods had decreed his

669 death as a punishment for his late offence. This
726 too was the general opinion of the people, and
784 was the subject of their conversation for a long
761 time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 Finow already began to grow tired of the
723 war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his
[728] genius, he loved rather a few hard fought en-
[634] gagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy
[726] shewed no disposition to come forth from their
[712] strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of
669 clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he
634 did not choose that his wish should be known,
728 lest it should be attributed to fear or any other unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

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[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

He was, however, by no means deficient in 669
policy, and he soon thought of a method. From 634
time to time he held secret conferences with 728
the priests, chiefly either upon religious subjects
or upon political matters, as connected 669
with the will of the gods. He spoke of his determination 634
to remain at Vavaoo and prosecute 728
the war till his enemies were destroyed; then
on a sudden, as if his heart for the moment 793
relented, he painted in the most striking colours the evils of war, and how sorry he was that the necessity of the case obliged him to punish his rebellious subjects with so dire an evil. He then represented, in the most lively colours, the blessings of peace, and on this side of the prospect touched his hearers so with the beauty of the description that they entreated him to endeavour to make a peace. He then pretended to be inexorable, but always threw in something in favour of the Vavaoo people, so that the priests at length thought there was no question at all about the propriety and honour of making a peace, and that it was their duty to persuade him to do it, for when they were inspired they had the same sentiment, and of course they considered it to be the sentiment of the gods, and represented it to him as such; when he, pretending to submit only because it was the divine will, left the matter entirely to

669 them to negotiate, and if they succeeded, it
634 would afford him, he said, at least one great
728 gratification, viz. the opportunity of again renewing his friendship with his aunt Toe Oo-
793 moo, and paying her that respect which her superior relationship required.

The day after the last conference, the priests
[301] accordingly dressed themselves in mats, with
[292] wreaths of green leaves round their necks as
[577] tokens of humility, not towards the enemy, but the gods, as fulfilling a commission sacred in its nature. Thus equipped, they set out on their way to Felletoa. In the mean time, Finow gave orders that none of his men, if they met with a party of the enemy, should commit any act of hostility, but should endeavour on all occasions to avoid them by as speedy a retreat as possible, for as the gods had admonished him to endeavour to make a peace, and the priests were actually fulfilling that endeavour, any act of hostility might defeat their purpose.

The priests went four or five different times to hold conferences with the chiefs of Felletoa before they could bring about a reconciliation. For although the old men seemed willing enough to listen to terms of accommodation, influenced perhaps by their prejudice in favour of Finow as their lawful king, yet the young and spirited warriors, who saw clearly enough

into the artful character of Finow, with much 669
less of the above prejudice, constantly objected 634
to make peace with a man on whose honour 728
and integrity they thought it impossible to rely 793
with any degree of certainty, and who would
again give room for a quarrel with the Vavaoo
people whenever it suited his purpose. This
was their real thought, and perhaps a just one:
though they did not express their sentiments
with such latitude to the priests: to these they
merely objected their apprehensions, that in the
event of a peace, Finow would, at some fit
opportunity, wreak his vengeance upon them
personally for having fought against him. At
length, however, they said that as their lives
were not a matter of so much consequence as
the peace and happiness of Toe Oomoo and her
people generally, they were willing to withdraw
their objections, that the affair might be
speedily settled according to the wishes of the
older chiefs. The priests now returned to
Neafoo with the warmest assurances from the
chiefs of Felletoa, that they would pay Finow
an amicable visit the following day.

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of 669
Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming 728
towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all [292]
armed, painted and decorated with streamers, [431]
forming altogether a very beautiful and ro-

669 mantic procession, bringing with them abund-
728 ance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as presents to their
[292] relations. In this way they entered the fortress
of Finow, and came into the king's presence on
[431] the *malái*, where he was seated with his chiefs
[431] and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid
down their spears, which were afterwards shared
out to three of Finow's principal chiefs, who
again shared them out to all those below them
[276] in rank*. They seated themselves round the
[565] *malái*, and cava was prepared, the young chiefs
and warriors of Felletoa waiting on the com-
[701] pany†. All this time Finow's men were un-
armed‡, (agreeably to the custom on such occasions) but by his orders the greater part remained at their houses where their arms were deposited, for he was upon his guard lest his guests had some stratagem to play: but he had merely signified to his men, that it would be better for them to remain at their houses, as it

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* Mr. Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions; but this was the only instance of a peace formally established, that ever happened while he was there.

† It is an honourable office to assist at cava parties, it is therefore generally filled by young chiefs.

‡ The visitors come armed for the sake of parade, giving up their arms afterwards as presents; those that receive them must be unarmed as a proof of their amicable disposition, and that they do not mean to get them in their power by stratagem.

would inspire the Vavaoo chiefs with more con- 669
fidence than if they were present in a body.

During the time the cava was being served 728
out, the king made a speech, addressed princi- [701]
pally to the chiefs of Felletoa, in which he ac- 669
knowledged that they were not to be blamed
for their fears and apprehensions as long as 728
they believed him to be the treacherous cha- 634
racter which his enemies had represented him to be; but he hoped that these calumnies were now at an end. He was willing, he said, to excuse them for having fought in honour of the memory of their late chief Toobó Nuha, against his murderers, for if they had not done so, he should have considered them cowards; but as most of these murderers had now by their death expiated their crime, and as he himself, as he solemnly assured them, was perfectly innocent of that affair, the present peace, he was convinced, was a most honourable one to all parties. He then made the most solemn protestations of the sincerity of his intentions towards them, and as a proof of his wish to avoid all future occasions of quarrel, he should send back all his people to the Hapai islands, except a few matabooles, who were to remain with him at Vavaoo, which, for the future, he should make his place of residence, out of the love and respect he had for them; whilst he should con-

669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[301] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
669 entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
728 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
604 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A
quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were deposited in the middle of the circle, at the upper end of which a place was left vacant for the king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have pre-
sided, at the head of the circle, and the king, as her inferior relation, must have seated himself opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

cle, among the common people; for no two relations 634
of different rank can sit in the same circle 669
together*. On this account, and out of 728
respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe 604
Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow 276
being seated, his men, as they came in, deposited 574
their spears in the middle of the circle,
to be afterwards shared out in the same manner
as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo 669
the day before; they then retired to the outside 728
of the circle, ready to wait upon the company. 276
A large root of cava was then split into 574
pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual. [431]
While the cava was preparing, the provisions
were shared out, ready to be eaten after the
cava was drunk. This being done, and the 634
provisions consumed, a second course of cava 604
was prepared and served out, of which Finow 728
having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a 669
visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her presence
he went up to her, and, with great respect,
kissed her hand, and she, in return,
kissed his forehead†. He then sat down to [276]

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* An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

† When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the [576]
hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our

634 drink cava with her and her attendants, and, as
604 she presided, he of course sat outside, facing
728 her. When the cava was finished, he walked
669 out to view the fortifications, on which occa-
[276] sion the matabooles of Toe Oomoo waited on
him, and pointed out every thing worthy of notice. They descanted on the excellence of the plan, and then gave him anecdotes of the war, telling him where such a chief was killed, where another lost his arm or his leg, where a cannon-ball had struck, &c.; and, as they viewed the outside of the works, they pointed out where the different murderers of Toobó
703 Nuha met their fate. All this, however, they
577 told him in answer to his queries; for it is a thing very remarkable in the character of the people of Tonga, that they never exult in any feats of bravery they may have performed, but, on the contrary, take every opportunity of praising their adversaries; and this a man will do, although his adversary may be plainly a coward, and will make an excuse for him, such

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[576] usual mode, but rather by the application of the upper lip and the nostrils, and has more the appearance of smelling. When two equals are about to salute, each applies his upper lip and nostrils to the forehead of the other, or he applies his lips to the lips of the other, but without any movement
[829] of them, or smack, as in our mode. Our kiss they never adopt, not even between the sexes, but, on the contrary, always ridicule it, and term it *the white man's kiss.*

as the unfavourableness of the opportunity, or 703
great fatigue, or ill state of health, or badness 577
of his ground, &c. In their games of wrestling they act up to the same principle, never to [526]
speak ill of their antagonist *afterwards*, but always to praise him. As an illustration of this character it may be remarked, that the man who called himself Fannà Fonnooa, (a great gun,) who ventured his life in his hazardous approach to Mr. Mariner, and threw his spear at the muzzle of his carronade, never afterwards boasted of it, nor appeared to think he had done any thing extraordinary, or at least worthy of after-notice. Their notions of true bravery seem to be very correct, and the light in which they viewed this act of Fannà Fonnooa serves for an example: they considered it in short a rash action, and unworthy a great and brave mind, that never risks any danger but with a moral certainty, or at least reasonable expectation, of doing some service to his cause. In these respects they accuse Euro- [829]
peans of a great deal of vanity and selfishness, and unfortunately with too much justice. It [565]
must be remarked, however, that these noble sentiments belong to chiefs, matabooles, and professed warriors; not much to the lowest orders, many of whom will knock a dead man about the head with a club till they have

703 notched and blooded it a good deal, and pre-
577 tend it was done in the battle against a living
565 foe; but such things are always suspected, and
held in ridicule.

Finow having for a considerable time in-
634 spected the fortification, praising every where
the judgment with which it was planned, re-
tired to the house which had formerly belonged
to Toobó Nuha, where he passed the night.
634 The following morning he summoned a general
727 meeting of all the inhabitants of Vavaoo, which
was soon accomplished, as the people were all
at one or other of the two fortresses. He then
gave directions to all the principal men respect-
ing the cultivation of the country, which the
late war had reduced to a sad state. He com-
manded that every one should be as frugal as
possible in his food, that the present scarcity
might be recompensed with future abundance.
He ordered his fishermen to supply him and his
chiefs with plenty of fish, that the consumption
634 of pork might be lessened. Having settled
727 these matters, he next gave orders that the
large fortress of Felletoa should be taken down,
712 its fencing carried away by any body who
might want it, its banks levelled with the
ground, and its ditches filled up; urging, as
his reason, that there was no necessity for a
garrisoned place in time of peace, particularly

in a spot which could be so much better employed 634
for building an additional number of 727
more commodious dwellings. The fortress of
Neafoo, he said, might remain, for it was a 712
place not convenient to live at, and therefore it was not worth while to take any trouble about it. These were his ostensible reasons, but his real motives were easy to be seen into: he was apprehensive, that, in the event of another insurrection, his enemies might again possess themselves of this strong hold; but as to the other fortress, if he did not succeed in securing it for himself, he could easily dispossess his enemies of it, by destroying it with his carronades whenever he thought proper.

These orders were begun immediately to be put into execution, under the inspection of the chiefs of the different districts of the island.
The following day the king gave orders to 634
Toobo Toa to proceed back to the Hapai 651
islands, of which he constituted him tributary chief; the tributes* were to be sent to Vavaoo

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* The tribute generally consists of yams, mats, *gnatoo*, dried fish, live birds, &c.; and is levied upon every man's property in proportion as he can spare. The quantity is sometimes determined by the chief of each district, though generally by the will of each individual, who will always take care to send quite as much as he can well afford, lest the superior chief should be offended with him, and deprive him of all that he has. This tribute is paid twice a year; once

634 half-yearly, as usual: at the same time, all the
651 natives of Hapai, who had come to the war,
were to return with their chief. On this occasion the young prince (Finow's son, Moegnag-
634 nongo) went with Toobó Tóa to the Hapai
727 islands, as he wished to look over his lands on
the island of Foa; and Mr. Mariner accom-
484 panied the prince, as he preferred his character and habits to those of his father. They arrived safe at this island after a quick passage of about nine hours.

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634 at the ceremony of *Inachi*, or offering the first fruits of the
651 season to the gods, in or about the beginning of October; and again at some other time of the year, when the tributary chief may think proper, and is generally done when some article is in great plenty. The tribute levied at the time of the *Inachi* is general and absolute; that which is paid on the other occasion comes more in form of a present, but is so established by old custom, that, if it were omitted, it would
431 amount to little less than an act of rebellion. It may here with propriety be observed, that the practice of making pre-
565 sents to superior chiefs is very general and frequent. The higher class of chiefs generally make a present to the king, of hogs or yams, about once a fortnight: these chiefs, about the same time, receive presents from those below them, and these last from others, and so on, down to the common people. The principle on which all this is grounded is of course fear, but it is termed respect (*ofa*).

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of Filimóëátoo at Foa—Description of the sport called fanna kalai—Treaty of Filimóëátoo with the chief of Hihifo, respecting the bird kalai, for Finow—Desertion of several chiefs and warriors to Tonga—Island of Tofooa, and restrictions respecting cutting down the Toa tree (Casuarina)—Volcano on this island—Certain principles among the Fiji islanders alluded to—Grave of John Norton, of Captain Bligh's boat, with some account of him—Extract from Bligh's narrative—Remarks upon the subject—Some account of a ship arriving at the island of Tonga from Botany Bay—Account given of Botany Bay by a Tonga chief and his wife, who had returned from there—Finow's ideas respecting the value and circulation of money—General slaughter of the dogs at Vavaoo, on account of their destroying the game—Their flesh cooked and eaten by several chiefs—Finow's first essay at the sport of fanna kalai with the bird from Tonga. 000

Shortly after the arrival of the prince, with Toobo Toa and Mr. Mariner, at the island of Foa, there came a canoe from Vavaoo with the Tonga chief Filimóëátoo, who, it will be recollected, was a relation of Finow, and had joined his cause at Pangaimotoo, leaving the island of Tonga for that purpose, by leave of his superior, the chief of Hihifo. Filimóëátoo was now on his return to the island of Tonga, with a 223 484 661

223 commission from Finow to treat with the chief
of Hihifo respecting a particular bird of the
661 species called *kalai* (trained for sport). This
[484] latter chief, although belonging to the island of
Tonga, was never professedly Finow's enemy,
[235] otherwise than as Finow had been associated
with the late Toobó Nuha, whom the chief of Hihifo mortally hated*; but as Toobó Nuha was now dead, and consequently all cause of enmity removed, Finow was in hopes he should be able to prevail upon the chief of Hihifo to make him a present of one of the first and best trained birds, of the kind in question, that ever was known, and which this chief had trained up with great care, and had long had in his possession, though it was the envy of
223 every chief that had seen it. This particular
bird Finow was ardently desirous of, to practise the sport called *fanna kalai*, of which we shall give a description. The sportsman, armed with a bow and arrows, conceals himself within a large cage, made of a sort of wicker-work, covered over with green leaves, but not so much but what he may see his game: on the top of this cage is the cock bird tied by the leg, who makes a noise, and flaps his wings, as if calling other birds to come and fight him:

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* The cause of this enmity, Mr. Mariner is not well acquainted with.

within is a smaller cage, in which there is the 223
hen bird, who also makes a peculiar noise, as if
in answer to the one on the outside; but be
this as it may, both cock birds and hens are
attracted towards the spot, and are shot by
the sportsman. This sport is practised by none 235
but the king and very great chiefs, for training [223]
and keeping these birds require exceeding great [565]
care as well as great expense. One man is appointed
to each pair of birds, and he has nothing
else to do but to attend to the management
of them; and, if this is not done with great
skill, they will not make the noise necessary to
attract others. So much attention, in short, [731]
is paid to these birds, that their keepers are [784]
authorised to go and demand plantains for
them, of whomsoever it may be, and howsoever
scarce may be this article of food, even if there
were a famine, and the people almost starving:
if a keeper, even on such occasions, sees a fine
bunch of plantains, he will go and *taboo* it,
which he does by sticking a reed in the tree,
and telling the proprietor that those plantains
are tabooed for the use of the birds. These 235
keepers live well, and are, in general, very insolent 685
fellows, sometimes committing very great
depredations, under frivolous pretensions of
procuring food for their birds. The sufferer [694]
sometimes makes a complaint to the king, or [693]
[681]

235 whatever chief the keeper belongs to; and if
685 the chief thinks the offence really outrageous,
694 he orders the man a severe beating, which is
693 usually done by inflicting heavy slaps with the
open hand upon his bare back, or striking him
681 about the head and face with the fist.

Filimóëátoo soon departed from Foa, on his
223 way to Hihifo, and arrived at this place without
661 any accident. He was not, however, so successful
[484] in the object of his journey as he expected
[578] to be; for the chief of Hihifo was by no
means willing to part with a bird, which, he said, had cost great hazard to himself, and the loss of many lives, to preserve; for he had sustained wars with so many other chiefs, who had quarrelled with him on account of his refusing to give it them, that he felt, he said, more than ever resolved to keep it: but, however, as Finow had so strong a desire for an excellent and well trained bird of that kind, he would make him a present of a pair, which, although not quite so good as the one in question, yet would be found exceedingly valuable. Before parting, however, he qualified his refusal of the rare bird by saying, that if he ever did give it away, it must be after very mature deliberation, for it had already cost him a vast deal, and was certainly the best bird that had ever been trained.
[634] He was heartily glad to hear of the death of
[565]

Toobó Nuha, and declared that no personal enmity 223
existed on his part towards Finow; but, 661
on the contrary, he felt so great an attachment 634
for him, that he would most willingly return [565]
with Filimóëàtoo to Vavaoo to pay a visit to
Finow, but that his matabooles would not allow
him. Filimóëàtoo having remained a day and
a night with this chief, returned with the two
birds to Finow, and gave him an account of his
interview with the chief of Hihifo. Finow received
the present, but was by no means well
pleased with the refusal of the bird, on which
he had so much set his heart. The following 223
morning, however, he went out to try his success 661
with these two, and which so far exceeded 634
his expectations, that he wanted more than ever 431
to have the excellent bird, and he immediately
set about to obtain it by rich presents. He
accordingly got ready sea-horses' teeth, beads,
axes, a looking-glass, several iron bolts, and a
grinding stone, all of which he had procured
from European ships, and chiefly from the Port
au Prince. Besides these things, he ordered to
be got ready several bales of Vavaoo *gnatoo*,
fine Hamoa mats, and a large quantity of cava;
the whole of which he gave in charge to Filimóëàtoo
to take immediately to Hihifo, and
present them to the chief, except some of the
cava, which he was to distribute among the

223 lower chiefs and matabooles, to engage them
661 more readily in his interest. Finow himself ac-
634 companied Filimóëátoo as far as Häáno, (one of
431 the Hapai islands,) and took many of his prin-
cipal chiefs along with him, with a view of les-
223 sening the consumption of food at Vavaoo. On
661 this expedition there were five canoes, all of
634 which arrived safe at Häáno; and from this
431 island Filimóëátoo proceeded in one canoe with
484 thirty men to Hihifo, where he also arrived
safe, and distributed his presents.

The chief of Hihifo, on this second urgent
223 application from Finow, after some considera-
661 tion, answered, that as he could not make any
634 use of the bird himself, his time being so much
[565] taken up in constant warfare with his neigh-
[577] bours, and as *it would not be consistent with the*
character of a chief[*] to retain from another
that which he could not use himself, he would,
at once, resign the bird to Finow, notwith-
standing the high value he placed on it, and
the immense care and trouble it had cost him.
This famous bird was accordingly consigned
to the charge of Filimóëátoo, who returned
with all convenient speed to tell the king the
634 success of his journey. Finow was still at the
223

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[*] The chiefs, among themselves, use this sort of expression,—as in civilized countries one would say, *it is not acting like a gentleman.*

Hapai islands, when he received his long 634
wished-for present; but he made no use of it 223
till about three weeks afterwards, when he had
returned to Vavaoo. In the mean time Mac- 669
capapa, Lolo hea Bibigi, and three others, all
chiefs and warriors, secretly left Vavaoo, and
sailed for Tonga, to join Taky', chief of the
fortress of Bea (who formerly burnt Finow's
fortress of Nioocalofa in so treacherous a manner).
They took this step, being apprehensive
that the king might hereafter wreak his vengeance
on them for fighting against him: the
sequel will show how far their apprehensions
were well grounded.

Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, 313
Mr. Mariner accompanied the prince to the 727
island of Tofooa, to procure iron-wood, which
is found there in great abundance. The prince 313
first obtained leave from Tooitonga, (the divine 634
chief,) for this island is his property, and 778
therefore considered sacred; besides, it is sup- 825
posed to be the residence of the sea gods, and
on this account the people firmly believe that
no sharks will hurt a man who is swimming
near upon its coast, but, on the contrary, swim
round him, and even pass so close as to touch
him, without shewing the least hungry disposition.
Mr. Mariner, however, never had an [727]

319 opportunity of witnessing the miraculous abstinence
634 of this sort of fish.

778 On the island of Tofooa there is a small volcano,
825 situated near the northern extremity,
727 from which smoke almost constantly issues, and
pumice-stones are very frequently thrown out.
133 An eruption of flame takes place, sometimes
twice or thrice a week, and at other times
scarcely once in two months, and generally
133 lasts from one to two or three days. The way
727 to the top is extremely difficult; but Mr. Mariner,
taking one of the natives of the island
for a guide, resolved to ascend it. They began
the ascent early in the morning, and, although
their progress was much impeded by the quantity
of loose pumice-stone, and often rendered
very dangerous, they reached the top in about
four hours. There was at this time no eruption
of flame, which had ceased a few hours
before, after having lasted three days; smoke
there was, however, in abundance, but which
did not much annoy them, as they were on the
windward side: sundry explosions were also
heard from within, like the noise of water
being thrown upon burning pitch. The crater
133 was about thirty feet diameter. Whilst they
727 were here, Mr. Mariner took care not to let
578 his companion approach too near, lest he might

have some sinister intent: such precaution was 133
by no means unnecessary, as this species of 727
treachery, when it can be performed secretly, 518
is not unusual, particularly among great warriors,
when they have some petty interest to
consult. This, however, is not to be considered [177]
the natural disposition of the Tonga people,
but a practice which, along with that of
war, they have learned from the natives of the
Fiji islands, where a man seldom goes out, even
perhaps with his greatest friend, without being
armed, and cautiously upon his guard. Mr.
Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with
a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures
on the part of his companion. On their
return down the mountain, he told his companion
that he might have shot him dead, and
nobody would have been the wiser, to which
the man replied, "I see you are *loto boto* *, like
"the Fiji people;" meaning that he possessed
policy and caution against treachery; and
added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that *I*
"had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect
"any in you."

Whilst on this island, Mr. Mariner went to 727
see the grave of an Englishman, John Norton,
belonging to the boat of the Bounty, Captain
Bligh, whose crew had mutinied. He was led [175]
[726]

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* Of a wise mind.

727 to visit this spot from a motive of curiosity, excited by the account which the natives had
175 given him of the death of this man. Lest,
726 however, the reader may have forgotten this
175 particular circumstance in the narrative of Captain Bligh, we shall first give the account
726 as related by this gentleman. Having put into this island for supplies, and after having remained a few days, he discovered that the natives had a design against him; in consequence of which he made the best of his way with his men to the boat: the narrative then proceeds in the following words:

"When I came to the boat, and was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and I determined, had it then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me until the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold, and went off, and we all got into the boat, except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the stern-fast off, notwithstanding the master and others calling him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

"I was no sooner in the boat than the attack

began by about two hundred men; the unfortunate poor man, who had run up the beach, 175 126
was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern rope, and were near hauling us on shore, and would certainly have done it, if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time I saw five of the natives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

"We had no time to reflect, before, to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us to renew the attack, which they did so effectually as nearly to disable all of us. Our grapnel was foul, but Providence here assisted us; the fluke broke, and we got to our oars and pulled to sea. They, however, could paddle round us, so that we were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in the boat, and in this I found we were very inferior to them. We could not close, because our boat was lumbered and heavy, and that they knew very well: I therefore adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which they lost time in picking

175 726 up; and, as it was now almost dark, they gave over the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

"The poor man I lost was John Norton: this was his second voyage with me as quarter-master, and his worthy character made me lament his loss very much. He has left an aged parent, I am told, whom he supported."

The account the natives gave was to the following purport. Part of Captain Bligh's crew had been on shore to procure water, and had all returned into their boat, except one man who was making the best of his way after his companions, with an axe in his hand; some of the natives, perceiving the axe, resolved to possess themselves of it, particularly one of them, who was a carpenter; they accordingly pursued him, and this carpenter, throwing a stone at him, knocked him down, and, coming up, beat him on the head with stones till he was dead. They then stripped the body, and dragged it up the country towards a malai, where they left it exposed two or three days,
727 and afterwards buried it near the spot. They said very little about a general attack, merely
[175 stating, that some of the natives threw stones
726 at Captain Bligh's boat; and Mr. Mariner, at
824] that time, not having read the narrative, did

not enquire into such particulars as he otherwise 727 would have done: but the most wonderful 824 part of the story is, that the whole track of ground through which the body was dragged [175] had ever since been destitute of grass, as well [726] as the spot on which it lay for two or three days. It was this circumstance, principally, that engaged Mr. Mariner to visit the place, and there, indeed, he found the bare track of ground from the beach to near the place where they say he was buried; nor has it much the appearance of a beaten path, besides that it leads to and from places, where there are but few inhabitants: at the termination of this track there is a bare place, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man.

However trivial such relations may appear 771 in themselves, they are worth mentioning, with 824 a view to contrast them with the accounts given by credible travellers, that they may tend to prove how far the statements of the natives may be depended on; besides which, in some instances, as in the present, they shew what kind of superstitions they are subject to (for another instance of this kind, see the affair of the missionaries, p. 61). As to the bare track, although it may not now have much the appearance of a beaten path, owing to the grass having grown irregularly on either side, yet there

771 824 is every probability that, some years back, it was such, in a great degree, though now little trod: but those who are willing to keep up the spirit of the wonderful have attributed it to this supernatural cause. Superstitions, in all countries, are much of the same kind; we have similar ones in our own; but, whilst men of cultivated minds disregard them, the vulgar in general most firmly give their belief, particularly where there is some sensible object that appears to corroborate the tale *.

634 276 Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, he often held conversations at his cava parties with Filimóëátoo, respecting the state of affairs at Tonga. Among other things, this 177 484 chief related, that a ship from Botany Bay had touched there about a week before he arrived, on board of which there was a Tonga chief, Páloo Máta Móigna, and his wife, Fataféhi, both of whom had formerly left Tonga (before the death of Toogoo Ahoo), and had resided some years at the Fiji islands, from which place they afterwards went along with one Selly (as they

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* I observe that some readers have looked upon the above explanation as if I had considered it perfectly satisfactory in regard to all the phenomena: this I did not intend: I have merely ventured to state what I consider to be the probable cause of the long track. As to the short transverse one, suffice it to say, that I do not believe it to have been occasioned by poor Norton's body.

pronounced it), or, probably, Selby, an Englishman, in a vessel belonging to Botany Bay, to reside there. 177 484 At this latter place he and his wife remained about two years, and now, on their return to Tonga, finding the island in such an unsettled state, they chose rather, (notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their friends) to go back again to Botany Bay. The account 177 they gave of the English customs at this place, and the treatment they at first met with, it may be worth while to mention. The first thing that he and his wife had to do, when they arrived at the governor's house, where they went to reside, was to sweep out a large court yard, and clean down a great pair of stairs; in vain they endeavoured to explain, that in their own country they were chiefs, and, being accustomed to be waited on, were quite unused to such employments: their expostulations were taken no notice of, and work they must. At first their life was so uncomfortable, that they wished to die; no one seemed to protect them; all the houses were shut against them; if they saw any body eating, they were not invited to partake: nothing was to be got without money, of which they could not comprehend the value, nor how this same money was to be obtained in any quantity; if they asked for it, nobody would give them any, unless they worked for it, and

177 then it was so small in quantity, that they could not get one tenth part of what they wanted with it. One day, whilst sauntering about, the chief fixed his eyes upon a cook's shop, and, seeing several people enter, and others, again, coming out with victuals, he made sure that they were sharing out food, according to the old Tonga fashion, and in he went, glad enough of the occasion, expecting to get some pork; after waiting some time, with anxiety to be helped to his share, the master of the shop asked him what he wanted, and, being answered in an unknown language, straightway kicked him out, taking him for a thief, that only wanted an opportunity to steal. Thus, he said, even being a chief did not prevent him being used ill, for, when he told them he was a chief, they gave him to understand, that *money* made a man a chief. After a time, however, he acknowledged that he got better used, in proportion as he became acquainted with the customs and language. He expressed his astonishment at the perseverance with which the white people worked from morning till night, to get money: he could not conceive how they were able to endure so much labour.

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After having heard this account, Finow asked several questions respecting the nature of money: what is it made of?—is it like iron? can

it be fashioned like iron into various useful instruments? if not, why cannot people procure what they want in the way of barter?—but where is money to be got?—if it be made, then every man ought to spend his time in making money; that when he has got plenty, he may be able afterwards to obtain whatever else he wants. In answer to the last observation, Mr. Mariner replied that the material of which money was made was very scarce and difficult to be got, and that only chiefs and great men could procure readily a large quantity of it; and this either by being inheritors of plantations or houses, which they allowed others to have, for paying them so much tribute in money every year; or by their public services; or by paying small sums of money for things when they were in plenty, and afterwards letting others have them for larger sums, when they were scarce: and as to the lower classes of people, they worked hard, and got paid by their employers in small quantities of money, as the reward of their labour: &c. That the king was the only person that was allowed to make (to coin) money, and that he put his mark upon all that he made, that it might be known to be true; that no person could readily procure the material of which it was made, without paying money for it; and if contrary to the *taboo* of

634 the king, he turned this material into money,
727 he would scarcely have made as much as he
had given for it. Mr. Mariner was then going
177 on to shew the convenience of money as a medium
of exchange, when Filimóëátoo interrupted
634 him, saying to Finow, I understand how it is;—
727 money is less cumbersome than goods, and it is
177 very convenient for a man to exchange away
829 his goods for money; which, at any other time,
he can exchange again for the same or any other goods that he may want; whereas the goods themselves may perhaps spoil by keeping (particularly if provisions) but the money he supposed would not spoil; and although it was of no true value itself, yet being scarce and difficult to be got without giving something useful and really valuable for it, it was imagined to be of value; and if every body considered it so, and would readily give their goods for it, he did not see but what it was of a sort of real value to all who possessed it, as long as their neighbours chose to take it in the same way. Mr. Mariner found he could not give a better explanation, he therefore told Filimóëátoo that his notion of the nature of money was a just one. After a pause of some length, Finow replied that the explanation did not satisfy him: he still thought it a foolish thing that people should place a value on money, when they

either could not or would not apply it to any 634
useful (physical) purpose: "if," said he, "it 727
"were made of iron, and could be converted 177
"into knives, axes, and chisels, there would be 829
"some sense in placing a value on it; but as it "is, I see none: if a man," he added, "has more "yams than he wants, let him exchange some "of them away for pork or *gnatoo;* certainly "money is much handier, and more convenient, "but then as it will not spoil by being kept, "people will store it up, instead of sharing it "out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become "selfish; whereas, if provision were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, "as being both the most useful and the most "necessary, he could not store it up, for it "would spoil, and so he would be obliged either "to exchange it away for something else useful, "or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior "chiefs and dependants, for nothing." He concluded by saying, "I understand now very "well what it is that makes the Papalangis so "selfish;—it is this money!"

When Mr. Mariner informed Finow that dollars were money, he was greatly surprised, having always taken them for *päänga**, and

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* Paanga is the name they give to a certain kind of bear 526
which is used in one of their games (see *Laffo* among the

634 things of little value; and he was exceedingly
727 sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of
the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her
177 to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he,
829 "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, "perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain "Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had "plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on "board, whilst yours had nothing but iron "hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páänga* "as I thought: but if every one of these was "money, your ship must have belonged to a "very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained
634 at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved
484 to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying
634 them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the
231 king gave orders that all the dogs in the island, except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised
262 himself great sport with his favourite bird. As the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands, there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

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[526] games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

[252] [565] * At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

the occasion; but on these several of the chiefs 262
made a hearty repast. Finow was particularly fond of dog's flesh, but he ordered it to be called pork; because women and many men had a degree of abhorrence at this sort of diet. The parts of the dog in most esteem are the neck and hinder quarters. The animal is killed by blows on the head, and cooked in the same manner as a hog: Mr. Mariner has frequently partaken of it, and found it very good; the fat is considered excellent. At the Sandwich 171
islands the practice was almost universal in Mr. 262
Mariner's time, so that more dog's flesh was eaten than pork: the hogs being preserved to be used as a trading commodity with European and American vessels. At these last mentioned islands most of the male dogs are operated upon, and afterwards fattened for the express purpose; and Mr. Mariner thinks their flesh is nearly as good and tender as that of a sucking pig.

Finow having ordered all things to be got 223
ready, went out early in the morning after his 634
arrival, to try the excellence of his bird; and had very great sport. The day following he went out again; but the bird, from some cause or another, would not make any noise; and this made him so angry that he knocked it on the ground, and beat it with an arrow,

223 and, after having almost killed it, gave it away
634 to one of his chiefs, declaring how vexatious it was to have a bird that would not speak after having had so much trouble with it. He afterwards used the two birds that were first sent to him, and was tolerably well satisfied with them.

CHAP. IX.

Island of Hoonga—Curious cavern there, and how first discovered— 000
Anecdote of the person who first discovered the
cavern—Description of the sport of shooting rats—Popular
tale of the origin of the Tonga islands—Finow's return
to Vavaoo—General *fono*, and seizure of several chiefs
—Stratagem used to secure Cacahoo—Several of the priſoners
taken out to sea to be sunk; their conversation on
the way—Conduct of Cacahoo whilst sinking—Conduct
of the widows of the deceased, particularly of the widow
of Now Fahoo—Description of the plantation of Mahe
Boogoo—Popular tale of what happened at this plantation
in former times—Tonga song—Abundance of a peculiar
fish found here—This plantation given up by Mahe
Boogoo, and conferred on Mr. Mariner by Finow—Mr.
Mariner's providential escape from a shark—A dead spermaceti
whale found off one of the islands—Their method
of making ornaments with its teeth—Anecdote exemplifying
the high estimation in which whale's teeth are held
—Still greater value of them at the Fiji islands—Arrival
of Cow Mooala from the Fiji islands.

Finow, having at this time no business of importance 634
on which to employ his attention, resolved 484
to go to the island of Hoonga, lying at 659
a small distance to the southward of Vavaoo, 224
in order to inspect the plantations there, and 517
to recreate himself a little with the sport of
shooting birds and rats. Mr. Mariner, as [727]
usual, formed one of the party. On this island 133

133 there is a peculiar cavern, situated on the
western coast, the entrance to which is some
feet beneath the surface of the sea even at low
water; and was first discovered by a young
chief, whilst diving after a turtle. The nature
of this cavern will be better understood if we
imagine a hollow rock rising sixty feet or more
above the surface of the water; into the cavity
of which there is no known entrance but one,
and that is on the side of the rock, several feet
under the water, which flows into it; and con-
sequently the base of the cavern may be said to
634 be the sea itself*. Finow and his friends, be-
276 ing on this part of the island, proposed one af-
ternoon on a sudden thought, to go into this
517 cavern, and drink cava. Mr. Mariner was not
727 with them at the time the proposal was made;
but happening to come down a little while af-
481 ter to the shore, and seeing some of the young
chiefs diving into the water, one after another,
and not rise again, he was a little surprised,
and enquired of the last, who was just prepar-
ing to take the same step, what they were

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* The depth of the entrance below the surface differs of course with the different heights of the tide: when Mr. Mariner entered, it was about six feet below the surface: Jeremiah Higgins says it was two or three feet when he went in, at nearly low water, at which period it is very difficult to enter, on account of the swell.

about? "Follow me," said he, "and I will 727
"take you where you have never been before; 481
"and where Finow, and his chiefs and mata-
"booles, are now assembled." Mr. Mariner, supposing it to be the famous cavern of which he had heard some account, without any further hesitation, prepared* himself to follow his companion, who dived into the water, and he after him, and, guided by the light reflected from his heels, entered the opening in the rock, and having dived through the passage, which is about eight or nine feet in length, rose into the cavern. He was no sooner above the sur- 727
face of the water than, sure enough, he heard the voices of the king and his friends: being directed by his guide, he climbed upon a jutting portion of rock, and sat down. All the light that came into this place was reflected from the bottom, and was sufficient, after remaining about five minutes, to show objects with some little distinctness; at least he could

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* It is proper to mention that in presence of a superior 291
chief, it is considered very disrespectful to be undrest: under 576
such circumstances as the present, therefore, every one retires a little, and as soon as he has divested himself of his 565
usual dress, slips on an apron made of the leaves of the chi tree, or of matting called gie: the same respect is shewn if it be necessary to undress near a chief's grave; because some hotooa or god may be present.

727 discover, being directed by the voice, Finow
and the rest of the company, seated like himself.
Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have
a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out
again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well,
tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and
wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he
directed an attendant to bring a torch in the
same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the
cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the
gnatoo, a great portion of which was perfectly
dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and
lighted the torch. The place was now illuminated
tolerably well, for the first time, perhaps,
133 since its existence. It appeared (by
guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main
part, but which branched off, on one side, in
two narrower portions. The medium height
seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was
hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling,
upon a cursory view, the gothic
521 arches and ornaments of an old church. After
[276] having examined the place, they drank cava,
[517] and passed away the time in conversation upon
[823] different subjects. Among other things, an

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* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

old mataboole, after having mentioned how the 521
cavern was discovered, viz. by a young chief in 823
the act of diving after a turtle, related an interesting
account of the use which this chief
made of his accidental discovery. The circumstances
are as follow.

In former times there lived a tooi (governor) 696
of Vavaoo, who exercised a very tyrannical deportment 584
towards his people; at length, when 823
it was no longer to be borne, a certain chief 179
meditated a plan of insurrection, and was resolved [669]
to free his countrymen from such odious
slavery, or to be sacrificed himself in the attempt:
being however treacherously deceived
by one of his own party, the tyrant became acquainted
with his plan, and immediately had
him arrested. He was condemned to be taken [687]
out to sea and drowned, and all his family and
relations were ordered to be massacred, that
none of his race might remain. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, young and interesting, had been reserved to be the wife of a chief of considerable rank, and she also would have sunk, the victim of the merciless destroyer, had it not been for the generous exertions of another young chief, who a short time before had discovered the cavern of Hoonga. This discovery he had kept within his breast a profound secret, reserving it as a place of retreat

696 for himself, in case he should be unsuccessful
584 in a plan of revolt which he also had in view.
823 He had long been enamoured of this beautiful
173 young maiden, but had never dared to make
her acquainted with the soft emotions of his heart, knowing that she was betrothed to a chief of higher rank and greater power. But now the dreadful moment arrived when she was about to be cruelly sacrificed to the rancour of a man, to whom he was a most deadly enemy. No time was to be lost; he flew to her abode, communicated in a few short words the decree of the tyrant, declared himself her deliverer if she would trust to his honour, and, with eyes speaking the most tender affections, he waited with breathless expectation for an answer. Soon her consenting hand was clasped in his: the shades of evening favoured their escape; whilst the wood, the covert, or the grove, afforded her concealment, till her lover had brought a small canoe to a lonely part of the beach. In this they speedily embarked, and as he paddled her across the smooth wave, he related his discovery of the cavern destined to be her asylum till an opportunity offered of conveying her to the Fiji islands. She, who had entrusted her personal safety entirely to his care, hesitated not to consent to whatever plan he might think promotive of

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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their ultimate escape: her heart being full of gratitude, love and confidence found an easy access. They soon arrived at the rock, he leaped into the water, and she, instructed by him, followed close after: they rose into the cavern, and rested from their fears and their fatigue, partaking of some refreshment which he had brought there for himself, little thinking, at the time, of the happiness that was in store for him. Early in the morning he returned to Vavaoo to avoid suspicion: but did not fail, in the course of the day, to repair again to the place which held all that was dear to him; he brought her mats to lie on, the finest *gnatoo* for a change of dress, the best of food for her support, sandal wood oil, cocoa nuts, and every thing he could think of to render her life as comfortable as possible. He gave her as much of his company as prudence would allow, and at the most appropriate times, lest the prying eye of curiosity should find out his retreat. He pleaded his tale of love with the most impassioned eloquence, half of which would have been sufficient to have won her warmest affections, for she owed her life to his prompt and generous exertions at the risk of his own: and how much was he delighted when he heard the confession from her own lips, that she had long regarded him with a

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696 favourable eye, but a sense of duty had caused
584 her to smother the growing fondness, till the
823 late sad misfortune of her family, and the cir-
173 cumstances attending her escape, had revived
all her latent affections, to bestow them wholly upon a man to whom they were so justly due. How happy were they in this solitary retreat! tyrannic power now no longer reached them: shut out from the world and all its cares and perplexities;—secure from all the eventful changes attending upon greatness, cruelty, and ambition;—themselves were the only powers they served, and they were infinitely delighted with this simple form of government. But although this asylum was their great security in their happiest moments, they could not always enjoy each other's company; it was equally necessary to their safety that he should be often absent from her, and frequently for a length of time together, lest his conduct should be watched. The young chief therefore panted for an opportunity to convey her to happier scenes, where his ardent imagination pictured to him the means of procuring for her every enjoyment and comfort, which her amiable qualifications so well entitled her to: nor was it a great while before, an opportunity offering, he devised the means of restoring her with safety to the cheerful light of day. He signi-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fied to his inferior chiefs and matabooles, that 696 it was his intention to go to the Fiji islands, 584 and he wished them to accompany him with 823 their wives and female attendants, but he de- 173 sired them on no account to mention to the latter the place of their destination, lest they should inadvertently betray their intention, and the governing chief prevent their departure. A large canoe was soon got ready, and every necessary preparation made for the voyage. As they were on the point of departure, they asked him if he would not take a Tonga wife with him. He replied, no! but he should probably find one by the way: this they thought a joke, but in obedience to his orders they said no more, and, every body being on board, they put to sea. As they approached the shores of Hoonga, he directed them to steer to a certain point, and having come close to a rock, according to his orders, he got up, and desired them to wait there while he went into the sea to fetch his wife; and without staying to be asked any questions, he sprang into the water from that side of the canoe farthest from the rock, swam under the canoe, and proceeded forward into the sanctuary which had so well concealed his greatest and dearest treasure. Every body on board was exceedingly surprised at his strange conduct, and began to think him in-

696 sane: and after a little lapse of time, not seeing
584 him come up, they were greatly alarmed for his
823 safety, imagining a shark must have seized
173 him. Whilst they were all in the utmost concern, debating what was best to be done, whether they ought to dive down after him, or wait according to his orders, for that perhaps he had only swum round and was come up in some niche of the rock, intending to surprise them,—their wonder was increased beyond all powers of expression, on seeing him rise to the surface of the water, and come into the canoe with a beautiful female. At first they mistook her for a goddess, and their astonishment was not lessened when they recognised her countenance, and found her to be a person, whom they had no doubt was killed in the general massacre of her family; and this they thought must be her apparition. But how agreeably was their wonder softened down into the most interesting feelings, when the young chief related to them the discovery of the cavern and the whole circumstance of her escape. All the young men on board could not refrain envying him his happiness in the possession of so lovely and interesting a creature. They arrived safe at one of the Fiji islands, and resided with a certain chief during two years: at the end of which time, hearing of the death of the tyrant

of Vavaoo, the young chief returned with his 696
wife to the last mentioned island, and lived 584
long in peace and happiness. 823

Such, as to matter of fact, is the substance 179
of the account given by the old mataboole.
There was one thing however stated, which [133]
might appear in opposition to probability, viz.
that the chief's daughter remained in the
cavern two or three months, before her lover
found an opportunity of taking her to the Fiji
islands: if this be true, there must have been
some other concealed opening in the cavern
to have afforded a fresh supply of air. With a 127
view to ascertain this, Mr. Mariner swam with 133
the torch in his hand up both the avenues before
spoken of, but without discovering any
opening; he also climbed every accessible
place, with as little success. At the time
Jeremiah Higgins was in this cavern it was
nearly low water. He felt a draught of air
coming from the left, and on examining the
source of it found a hole which he thinks was
more than a foot diameter, from which proceeded
a tolerably strong and steady breeze,
but not the least glimmer of light. This
opening he guesses to have been about four
feet above the surface of the water at that
time. When Mr. Mariner was there, it must
have been nearly high water, and the hole

721 probably covered: and even if it were not concealed
133 it would transmit no current of air inwardly
unless the tide were going out, which
he thinks was not the case. At the time Higgins
was there the weather was perfectly calm,
not a breath of wind stirring; consequently,
the influx of air must have been occasioned by
the descent of the surface of water within: on
the other hand, when the water rises the air
must rush out. This cavern therefore may be
said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall
of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the
above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing
[696] hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story
[584] of the young chief and his mistress, which
perfectly accorded in all the material points
[823] with what is told above: it appears from his
[173] narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that
the natives give this account of the two lovers
as a piece of true history, not a romance.
133 There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of
the cavern and high up, which is pointed out
as having been used for a bed-place.

Finow and his party having finished their
224 cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed
[517] their proper dress: after which they proceeded
[634] across the country, and got into the public
roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of
[136] shooting rats. These animals are not so large
[565]
[262]

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as in our parts of the world, but rather between the size of a mouse and a rat, and much of the same colour: they live chiefly upon such vegetable substances as sugar-cane, bread-fruit, &c.: they constitute an article of food with the lower orders of people, but who are not allowed to make a sport of shooting them, this privilege being reserved for chiefs, matabooles, and mooas *. The plan and regulations of the game of *fanna gooma* (rat-shooting) are as follow.

A party of chiefs and others having resolved to go rat-shooting, some of their attendants are ordered to procure and roast some cocoa-nut, which being done, and the chiefs having informed them what road they mean to take, they proceed along the appointed road, chewing the roasted nut very finely as they go, and spitting, or rather blowing, a little of it at a time out of their mouths with considerable force, but so as not to scatter the particles far from each other; for if they were widely distributed, the rat would not be tempted to stop and pick them up, and if the pieces were too large, he would run away with one piece instead of stopping to eat his fill. The bait is thus distributed, at moderate distances, on each side of the road,

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* For a description of these ranks in society, see the subject in the second volume.

224 and the men proceed till they arrive at the
place appointed for them to stop at. If in
[784] their way they come to any cross roads, they
[565] stick a reed in the ground in the middle of such
cross roads, as a *táboo* or mark of prohibition for any one to come down that way, and disturb the rats while the chiefs are shooting: and this no one will do; for even if a considerable chief be passing that way, on seeing the *táboo* he will stop at a distance, and sit down on the ground, out of respect or politeness to his fellow chiefs, and wait patiently till the shooting party has gone by: a petty chief, or one of the lower orders, would not dare to infringe upon this *táboo* at the risk of his life. The distributors of the bait being arrived at the place appointed for them to stop at, sit down to prepare cava, having previously given the orders of their chiefs to the owners of the neighbouring plantations to send a supply of refreshments, such as pork, yams, fowls, and ripe plantains.

The company of chiefs having divided themselves into two parties, set out about ten minutes after the *boóhi*, (or company that distributes the bait) and follow one another closely in a row along the middle of the road, armed with bows and arrows. It must be noticed, however, that the two parties are mixed; the greatest chief, in general, proceeding first, behind him one of the opposite party, then one of 224 the same party with the first, and behind him again one of the other party, and so on alternately. The rules of the game are these: no one may shoot a rat that is in advance of him, except he who happens to be first in the row (for their situations change, as will directly be seen); but any one may shoot a rat that is either abreast of him or behind him. As soon as a man has shot, whether he hits the rat or not, he changes his situation with the man behind him, so that it may happen that the last man, if he have not shot so often as the others, may come to be first, and vice versâ, the first come to be last: and for the same reason, two or three, or more, of the same party, may come to be immediately behind one another. Whichever party kills ten rats first, wins the game. If there be plenty of rats, they generally play three or four games. As soon as they arrive [184] at any cross roads they pull up the reeds placed as a *táboo*, that passengers coming afterwards may not be interrupted in their progress. When they have arrived at the place where the *boóhi* are waiting, they sit down and partake of what is prepared for them; afterwards, if they are disposed to pursue their diversion, they send the *boóhi* on to prepare another portion of the road: the length of road prepared at a

224 time is generally about a quarter of a mile. If, during the game, any one of either party see a fair shot at a bird, he may take aim at it; if he kill it, it counts the same as a rat, but whether he hit it or not, if he venture a shot, he changes place with the one behind him.
224 Every now and then they stop and make a peculiar
198 noise with the lips, like the squeaking of a rat, which frequently brings them out of the bushes, and they sit upright on their haunches, as if in the attitude of listening. If a rat is alarmed by their approach, and is running away, one or more cry out *too!* (stop!) with a sudden percussion of the tongue, and is a term used, we may suppose, on account of the sharp and sudden tone with which it may be pronounced. This has generally the effect of making the rat stop, when he sits up, and appears too much frightened to attempt his escape. When he is in the act of running away, the squeaking noise with the lips, instead of stopping him, would cause him to run faster. They frequently also use another sound, similar to what *we* use when we wish to answer in the affirmative without opening the lips, consisting in a sort of humming noise, sounding through the nostrils, but more loud, short, and sudden.
224 The arrows used on these occasions are nearly
411 six feet long, (the war-arrows being about three

feet,) made of reed, headed with iron-wood: 224
they are not feathered, and their great length 411
is requisite, that they may go straight enough to hit a small object; besides which, it is advantageous in taking an aim through a thick bush. Each individual in the party has only two arrows, for, as soon as he has discharged one from his bow, it is immediately brought to him by one of the attendants who follow the party. The bows also are rather longer than those used in war, being about six feet, the war-bows being about four feet and a half; nor are they so strong, lest the difficulty of bending them should occasion a slight trembling of the hand, which would render the aim less certain.

Finow and his friends having finished their 773
shooting excursion, and taken some refresh- 823
ment, directed their walk at random across the [634]
island, and arrived near a rock, noted by the [517]
natives as being (in their estimation) the immediate cause of the origin of all the Tonga islands. It happened once (before these islands were in existence) that one of their gods (Tangaloa) went out fishing with line and hook: it chanced, however, that the hook got fixed in a rock at the bottom of the sea, and, in consequence of the god pulling in his line, he drew up all the Tonga islands, which, they say, would have formed one great land; but the

773 line accidentally breaking, the act was incom-
823 plete, and matters were left as they now are.
They show a hole in the rock, about two feet
diameter, which quite perforates it, and in
643 which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is more-
over said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had,
till within a few years, this very hook in his
possession, which had been handed down to
him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his
house catching fire, the basket in which the
727 hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr.
124 Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a
643 hook it was, and was told that it was made of
773 tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the
bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just
like a large albacore hook, measuring six or
seven inches long, from the curve to the part
where the line was attached, and an inch and
a half between the barb and the stem. Mr.
Mariner objected that such a hook must have
been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said
Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a
god's hook, and could not break;—how came
then the *line* to break? was it not also the pro-
perty of a god?—I do not know how that was,
replied Tooitonga; but such is the account
they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

634 A few days after this excursion, Finow hav-
484 ing portioned out several of the smaller

islands to the government of certain of his 634
chiefs and matabooles, returned with his party 484
to Vavaoo. As soon as he arrived at Felletoa,
he issued orders for a general assembly of the
people, to be present on an appointed day, at a 634
general *fono*, or harangue, to be addressed to 577
them in regard to the affairs of agriculture, and 659
to remind them of their duty towards their 651
chiefs, and how they ought to behave at all
public ceremonies; in short, upon such subjects
as were more or less connected with agriculture,
or with moral and political duty. These 694
fonos are frequently held, and often upon subjects 653
of a minor importance, such, for instance, 651
as the expediency of repairing Finow's canoe: on such an occasion, the owner of a certain plantation would be appointed to provide the carpenters with provisions, another to provide them with canoe-timber, a third with a peculiar kind of wood for wedges, a fourth with plait, &c.—the same with more extensive matters, as constructing a large house, planting of yams or bananas, supplying provisions for feasts, burials, &c. so that in all these matters a tax is laid upon the people, every principal owner of land providing his share. The *fono* now about to be held was of a general nature, to be addressed to all the people, or at least to the petty chiefs: but the petty chiefs themselves often address

634 *fonos* to their own dependants, when they want
651 any thing done. It must be observed, that in
653 all these *fonos*, whether general or partial, the
[565] labour and care fall entirely upon the lower
order of the people; for although in the general
fono the petty chiefs take the care ostensibly to
themselves, yet afterwards, by a minor *fono*,
each confers it on his dependants. Notwithstanding all this, the lower classes have time
565 enough on their hands, and means enough in
735 their possession, to live comfortably; that is to
say, they have food sufficient for themselves
and their children, however large their families,
and enough clothing; and withal need never
be in want of a house, for that is easily built:
in short, real poverty is not known among
634 them. A *fono*, although it may regard some
651 affair of a public nature, is not always upon a
653 subject where a tax is necessary to be levied,
but frequently upon some matter connected
with civil policy; as for instance,—when a
piece of ground is laid waste by war, certain
persons are appointed to cultivate it; and the
chiefs are ordered not to oppress them with
taxes, or with visits on their plantations, before
634 they can supply means. It not unfrequently
627 happens that young chiefs molest women whom
684 they meet on the road; then their husbands, if
577 they are married women, make complaints to

the older chiefs and matabooles, and Finow, in 634
consequence, orders a *fono* to be addressed to 627
the people, in which the impropriety of the 684
conduct of the young chiefs is pointed out: the 577
offenders receive a suitable admonition, and are
ordered to desist from such ill behaviour for
the future. From one cause or another, there 634
is usually a *fono*, either general or partial, every
fourteen or twenty days. It will be easily understood that addresses of this kind are absolutely and frequently necessary, for the preservation of tolerable decency and good order, among a people who have no knowledge of any
means of graphic communication. The speech 634
is generally made by some old and principal 276
mataboole *, as it was on this occasion, when
the ceremony was held at Macave, about two [565]
miles and a half from Felletoa; after which, as [537]
usual, a large bowl of cava was provided. The
chiefs and warriors of Vavaoo took a very active part in the preparation of the cava, to demonstrate to Finow their attention and loyalty.
After the first bowl was drunk, while all were 634
in expectation that the king would give out some 687

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* The reader will recollect that the matabooles hold a 727
rank in society next below chiefs; they are the ministers, as 669
it were, and counsellors of chiefs: it is their duty also to attend to public ceremonies, and to keep an eye upon the morals and general conduct of the people.

634 more cava root to be prepared,—on a sudden
687 he^A pronounced aloud the word *boogi* (hold or
727 arrest). Instantly all the chiefs and warriors
669 that had been particularly active against him in
[276] the late war were seized by men previously
appointed: their hands were tied fast behind
them; and they were taken down to the beach,
where, with the club, several were immediately
dispatched; and the remainder were reserved
till the afternoon, for what is considered a more
signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea,
and sunk in old leaky canoes. This transaction
[166 seemed to show how little was to be trusted to
167] the honour of Finow, and how well founded
were the suspicions of those Vavaoo chiefs, who
had said that no reliance was to be placed in
him; and that there was little doubt but that
he would take an early opportunity of exercising
his revenge: *they* therefore acted a wise
part, who, as soon as the peace was concluded,
fled at the earliest opportunity, some to the
669 island of Tonga, others to the Fiji islands. It
634 must, however, be acknowledged that Finow
[687] had received information of a conspiracy which
these chiefs were designing against him; and
if this be true, his conduct was certainly less
reproachable*. Finow being apprehensive

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* It must be remarked that their innocence was never positively asserted; nobody supposed that they had actually

A [Finow--Analyst]

that this attempt might fail, or that the Vavaoo 669
people, in consequence, might again rise up 634
against him, had previously sent a canoe to the
Hapai islands, with orders to Toobó Tóa that
he and his chiefs should hold themselves in
readiness to repair to his assistance at a moment's notice. There proved, however, to be
no necessity for their intervention, the conspiracy succeeding in a degree equal to his expectation. Some difficulty, however, was found 687
in securing Cacahoo, a very great and brave 727
warrior and mataboole, amazingly courageous 669
and strong, although he was highly diseased [164]
with scrofula; and, like most great warriors,
was always (according to the Fiji practice)
upon his guard against treachery. They had
therefore recourse to stratagem on this occasion: Mr. Mariner's services were required as
the means, for he was present at the consultation of Finow and his chiefs upon the subject,
and he consented, being informed that the
king's intentions were merely to confine him as
a prisoner till some parts of his conduct were
examined into; and had it not been for the

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entered into any plan of conspiracy, but most persons suspected that they had held discourses upon the subject; and 669
it was generally acknowledged that if a revolt were to take 634
place, these would be the men likely to head it. Such is 687
the summary way of managing matters in this state of
society.

687 part which this gentleman was appointed to
727 act in the business, two or three no doubt
669 would have been killed, and several wounded,
in the attempt. It must be mentioned that
[784] Cacahoo, owing to his diseased appearance,
was not present at the cava party after the *fono*
(indeed, he was seldom present on any public
occasion, except to fight:) it was resolved,
therefore, that a young warrior, in company
with Mr. Mariner and others, should go and
present him with cava at his residence, as soon
[411] as the above chiefs were seized. Mr. Mariner
was to sit next to him, and was to ask him for
[609] his spear, as if to look at it from curiosity; for
[237] this spear was a remarkably good one, headed
with the bones of the tail of the *fy*, (sting-ray,)
and which he always carried about with him:
Mr. Mariner could take this liberty better than
any one else, as he was more or less acquainted
with him; and being a foreigner, his curiosity
would appear more plausible, and less subject
to suspicion: having got it into his hands, he
was to throw it away, and this was to be the
signal for the seizure. Before Cacahoo had
time to hear of what was going forward at Macave,
the appointed party arrived at his house,
and presented him cava. * Mr. Mariner took

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[634] * Mr. Mariner was not, in many instances, a voluntary supporter of Finow's conduct: but as necessity has no law,

his seat next to him: and, after a while, asked 687
him for his spear, that he might examine the 727
head of it; which having got into his possession, 669
he watched an opportunity, and threw it suddenly away: in a moment his enemies were upon him; but he sprang from the ground like an enraged lion, and burst away from them repeatedly, with such prodigious strength, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could bind and secure him. They then took their prisoner down to the sea-coast, and put him on board a canoe, to be drowned with the rest in the afternoon.

These transactions happened between (about) eight and ten in the morning; after which all

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in some cases he was obliged to conform, where he would [634]
willingly have been excused, upon the principle, that of two evils the least is to be chosen. To an honest mind it is always an ungrateful task to use any species of deception. Mr. Mariner was in the service of the king: the latter thought proper to secure certain persons, among whom was one who could not easily have been taken without Mr. Mariner's assistance; that is to say, without bloodshed and a loss of lives. The king was on all occasions his friend and protector; he felt it therefore his duty to conform to his views, where there appeared nothing intrinsically bad. Had he known what would have been the fate of Cacahoo, viz. to be condemned without trial,—let the consequences be what they might, he would not have submitted; and, in that case, by losing Finow's friendship, and incurring his displeasure, he would not, in all probability, have lived for us to have heard of him.

681 the Hapai chiefs and warriors, that were with
727 the king, appeared under arms, as also a cer-
tain Vavaoo chief, named Paoónga, a relation
669 and confidant of Finow; all the rest of the Vavaoo chiefs and mataboolės remaining unarmed, lest they might excite in Finow a suspicion that they meant to take hostile measures. About mid-day, or a little after, the large canoe, in which were the prisoners, lashed hand and foot, pushed out to sea, under the command of Lolo Hea Malohi, an adopted son of Finow. They had on board three old small canoes, in a very leaky, rotten state, in which the prisoners were destined to be put, and thus to be allowed gradually to sink, leaving the victims to reflect on their approaching dissolution, without having it in their power to help themselves.

687 The distance they had to go was about two
763 leagues: the weather being calm, the canoe
727 was obliged to be paddled most of the way. In
669 the mean while, some conversation passed be-
[50] tween the prisoners, particularly between Nowfaho and Booboonoo. Nowfaho observed to Booboonoo, that it would have been much better if they had never made a peace with Finow, and, to a certain degree, he upbraided Booboonoo with not having followed his advice in this particular: to this the latter replied, that he

did not at all regret the late peace with Finow, 687
for, being his relation, he felt himself attached 763
to his interests, and as to his own life, he 727
thought it of no value, since the king did not 669
think his services worth having. Nowfaho
stated, that he had a presentiment of his fate [682]
that very morning; for, as he was going along the road from Felletoa to Macave, he met a native woman of Hapai, and as he passed, he felt a strong inclination, he knew not from what cause, to kill her; and this bias of his mind was so powerful, that he could not help turning back and effecting his purpose; at the same time he felt a secret presentiment that he was going to die, and this murder that he had committed appeared now to be a piece of vengeance on the Hapai people, weak, indeed, in itself, yet better than no revenge at all. Nowfaho, among other things, lamented that his friend Booboonoo had not repaired to the Fiji islands when peace was first made, and, by that means, have preserved his life: as to his own safety, he said it was not a matter of much consequence; he only lamented that he was not about to die in an honourable way. Booboonoo expressed sentiments to the same purpose. Cacahoo now and then joined in the conversation, remarking, that he only lamented his death inasmuch as no opportunity had been

687 afforded him of revenging himself upon his
727 enemies, by sacrificing a few of them.

669 They were eighteen prisoners on board, of
[763] whom the greater part, before they arrived at
the place where they were to be sunk, begged that the manner of their death might be changed to the more expeditious one of having their brains knocked out with a club, or their heads cleaved with an axe: this was granted them, and the work of execution was immediately begun. Having dispatched three in this way, it was proposed, for the sake of convenience, that the remainder, who begged to be thus favoured, should be taken to a neighbouring small island to be executed; which being agreed on, they disputed by the way who should kill such a one, and who another. Such was the conversation, not of warriors, for knocking out brains was no new thing to them, but of others not so well versed in the art of destruction, who were heartily glad of this opportunity of exercising their skill without danger; for, coward-like, they did not dare to attempt it in the field of battle. The victims being brought on shore, nine were dispatched at nearly the same time, which, with the three killed in the canoe, made twelve, who
[565] desired this form of death. The remaining six
[701] being chiefs, and staunch warriors of superior

bravery, scorned to beg any favour of their 687
enemies, and were accordingly taken out to 727
sea, lashed in two rotten canoes, which they 669
had on board, three in each, and left to reflect [565]
on their fate; in the mean time their destroyers [701]
remained at a little distance to see them sink.
Booboonoo, whilst in this situation, said, that 687
he only died unhappy on account of his infant 763
son, who would be left friendless and unpro- 727
tected; but, calling to a young chief in the 669
larger canoe, of the name of Talo, begged, for the sake of their gods, that he would befriend his child, and never see him want either clothes or food suitable to the son of a chief; upon which Talo made a solemn promise to take the most attentive care of him, and Booboonoo seemed quite satisfied. Nowfaho lamented the sad disasters of that day, saying how many great and brave men were dying an ignominious death, who, some time before, were able to make the whole army of Finow tremble: he lamented, moreover, that he had ever retreated from his enemies, and wished that, on such an occasion, he had faced about, however inferior in strength, and sold his life at a high price, instead of living a little longer, to die thus a shameful death: he earnestly requested them to remember him in the most affectionate manner to his wife. Cacahoo swore heartily at Fi-

687 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them
763 in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers
727 for begetting them, and heaping maledictions
669 upon all their generation; he went on in this
manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that
157 bore a most amiable character: in time of war
they were brave and enterprising; in time of
peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of
[682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman,
[158] seems to make much against his humanity;

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[195] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very nu-
merous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible
[264] commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to
maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior rela-
[266] tions; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a supe-
rior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

but, as it was so contrary to his general sentiments
and conduct, we ought to have the liberality 687
to suppose, that it was a sudden frenzy 157
of the mind, which, at the moment, he could 682
no more help, than a man in convulsions can 158
help the violent agitation of the body. Let
this, however, be as it may, it is certain that he
and Booboonoo were both admired for their
mild and benevolent disposition, and were
gaining every day, more and more, the love
of the people, which, no doubt, caused the
king to be jealous of them, lest their increasing
power should ultimately annihilate his.
Nowfaho's desire of revenge was, of course, 152
considered (in their state of society) a virtuous 577
and manly sentiment. If we attend to their 763
conversation at the approach of death, we shall
find them both expressing sentiments of disinterested
friendship for each other: Booboonoo
is quite unhappy at leaving his infant son, and
recommends him strongly to the care of Talo
by all that is sacred and religious; Nowfaho
desires to be affectionately remembered to his
wife; these are not sentiments that belong to
gross and savage minds. As to Cacahoo, he
certainly was not so much famed for his benevolence,
as for his prodigious strength and
great personal courage; yet still he was much
beloved and respected; and several of the En-

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688 glishmen were much indebted to him, as well
157 as to the other two, for many acts of kindness.

124 Mr. Mariner heard the foregoing relation from Talo, and two or three others that were in the large canoe, and considers it strictly consonant with the truth.

764 The widows of those who were executed on the beach in the morning, and of those who
152 were dispatched at the small island in their way out to sea, petitioned Finow to grant them leave to perform the usual rites of burial in behalf of their deceased husbands, which the king readily acceded to: and they accomplished the ceremony with every mark of unfeigned sorrow and regret.
[668] When the last affectionate remembrances of Nowfaho were made to his widow, she appeared greatly moved; for, though she scarcely wept, her countenance betrayed marks of violent inward agitation: she retired to her house, and, arming herself with a spear and club, went about to seek for the other widows, who had lost their husbands in the same way, and urged them to take up arms, as she had done, and go forth to revenge their husbands' death, by destroying the wives of Finow, and his principal chiefs; finding, at length, that none of the others were willing to follow her example, she

was obliged to give up the design altogether. 764
It was suspected that Finow would have been 152
very angry on hearing her intention, but, on 668
the contrary, he praised it much, and approved of it, as being not only a meritorious act of bravery, but a convincing proof that her affection for her deceased husband was great and genuine.

After this transaction all the Vavaoo chiefs 634
paid remarkable attention to Finow, not fail- 565
ing to send him frequent presents of cava, 431
gnatoo, &c., and this they were the more anxious to do, as, being the richest men in the island, they were apprehensive that, in case their conduct displeased Finow, he might form another conspiracy against them, with a view to deprive them of their possessions; for they now found by woful experience, that he was not a man to be trifled with, and that his honour was not safely to be trusted to.

The king now spent a considerable portion 634
of his time in country excursions, for the pur- 517
pose of shooting *culai*, of which sport a description has already been given. About this 484
time a canoe was dispatched to the Hapai 226
islands, for the purpose of procuring a quan- 133
tity of fish, several species being there found in much greater abundance than at Vavaoo, or, at least, there is a much better opportunity of

484 catching them, owing to the greater number of
[226] reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain
[133] chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Hapai,
where he possessed a large property, on
423 which he was desirous to reside for the future.
[591] He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated
[431] on the northern coast, about a mile and a half
long, and half a mile broad, one end of which
[634] ran down close to the water's edge: this property
823 he made a present of to the king. It will
be proper to give a description of this plantation, because it includes, near the sea, the most romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which constitutes the subject of many of their songs, and is a place of resort to the young and old of both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours, the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous, also, for having been, at a former epoch, the scene of an enterprising action on the part of some young chiefs, who took refuge there from their adversaries, and obstinately held their position for six months.

It happens that nature has assembled in this
133 spot, not only the wildest profusion of the vegetable
137 kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree
stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sounding caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

gination can well conceive, and constituting a 133
species of scenery, which, in proportion as it is 137
more rare, is more admired by the natives. To
this retired spot you proceed along a road 487
which runs through the whole length of the 137
plantation, till you arrive at a thick wood of 136
tamanoo and *toa* trees, situated on a very steep
descent, down which the road becomes a narrow
path, winding from side to side, and beset
on either hand with the *myíle* and *jiále*, and
other shrubs, planted by the liberal hand of nature,
whose variegated flowers perfume the air
with the most delightful aromatic fragrance;
whilst, from the lofty branches of the trees, the
ear is soothed with the soft and plaintive voice
of the wood-pigeon calling to his mate. Having 133
proceeded with slow and lingering steps [245]
along this winding path, for about five hundred
yards, a flat plantation of cocoa-nut trees presents
itself, through which, at a little distance,
a beautiful prospect of the sea suddenly bursts
upon the view. On each side a steep and lofty
ridge of rocks, in the form of a crescent, extends
into the water, forming a sort of bay.
The ridge of rocks on the left hand are,
for the most part, the highest, but, at the termination
of that on the right, one, loftier than
the rest, extends upwards to a great height,
like the turret of some ancient battlement.

823 669 [133] On this rock in former times, as popular tradition records, a band of young chiefs, the heads of a conspiracy, took refuge from the rage of their adversaries, and held the place during six months*; it being quite inaccessible, except by one narrow path, exceedingly steep and dangerous, not wide enough to allow two persons to pass up abreast. This passage was, of course, perfectly under the command of those above, who, by rolling large stones down, could, at any time, hurl destruction upon whomsoever might rashly attempt to ascend. Here they remained in security, as long as their stock of provisions lasted, and even when this was expended, they refused to yield, till famine and raging thirst had destroyed all but three, who, being tempted by a promise of pardon, gave themselves up to their adversaries. 823 687 727 669 Scarcely was this done when they were taken before the king, who cruelly ordered them to be massacred in his presence. The number of those who died upon the rock were five, and they were buried on the spot: three of the graves are still very apparent; the other two are pointed out, but they are not in so distinct a state. [829] [484] The natives, now and then, ascend this rock, to enjoy the sublime beauty of the

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* They had supplied the place beforehand with *ma*, on which they lived during the whole time.

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of 823
those rebellious men, who, so long ago, de- 687
parted from the scene of public tumult, by 829
dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the 484
order of things. Here the moral reflections of 727
the natives are sometimes heard in the follow-
ing strain; "Where now are those men who 669
"once held up their heads in defiance of their
"chiefs? where now is the proud boast of su-
"periority? Their bodies lie here mingled
"with the dust, and their names are almost
"forgotten*!—But their souls! how are *they* 823
"affected? are they now the same ambitious 687
"spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in 829
"Tonga, when they animated this silent dust 775
"which is now all that remains of them?—are 669
"they still the partizans of sedition, tumult,
"and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all
"gods, and see with a clear understanding
"what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit [484]
this spot and view the lonesome habitations of
the dead; but it is not often that such visits
are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

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[*] The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few [173]
of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquir- [565]
ing particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which
they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt,
mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily
484 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,
[689] however, this trouble is amply repaid by the
[829] rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst
[775] the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon
[669] the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleasing melancholy easier to be conceived than de-
823 scribed. The effect which this works upon the
533 minds of the natives will be more easily understood when we see a sample of their descriptive songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,
[128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place, however, it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to this romantic and diversified spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song may be better understood.

137 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees there is another wood, consisting almost wholly
515 of *toá* trees: here the natives frequently resort to rinse themselves with the fresh water found in the hollows, between the junctions of the large branches or limbs that come off immediately from the trunk, after having bathed themselves in the sea: for the salt water, without using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption: besides which, the fresh water washing prevents that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

and sometimes, on the contrary, with a profuse perspiration. 137
Here also they plait flowers 515
which they have gathered at Matawto, (about
a mile farther along the beach,) which the 301
women put round their necks or take home to 431
the *mooa*, and present to their lovers or their friends, or to superior chiefs.

The following song is very often sung by 823
them, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, is 533
given in a sort of recitative by either sex; and in the Tonga language has neither rhymes nor regular measure, although some of their songs have both. It is perhaps a curious circumstance that love and war seldom form the subjects of their poetical compositions, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.

SONG.

Whilst we were talking of *Vavdoo toóa Licoo*, the women 823
said to us, let us repair to the back of the island to contem- 533
plate the setting sun : there let us listen to the warbling of 539
the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at *Matáwto*, and partake of refreshments prepared for us at *Licoo O'nē:* we will then bathe in the sea, and rinse ourselves in the *Vdoo A'ca;* we will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers gathered at *Matáwto*. And now as we stand motionless on the eminence over *Ana Mánoo*, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring but in vain to tear away the firm rocks.

823 533 534 Oh! how much happier shall we be thus employed, than when engaged in the troublesome and insipid affairs of life.

Now as night comes on, we must return to the *Moóa:*—but hark!—hear you not the sound of the mats?—they are practising a *bo-oóla*[*] to be performed to-night on the *malái* at *Tanéa;* let us also go there. How will that scene of rejoicing call to our minds the many festivals held there, before *Vaváoo* was torn to pieces by war. Alas! how destructive is war!—Behold! how it has rendered the land productive of weeds, and opened untimely graves for departed heroes! Our chiefs can now no longer enjoy the sweet pleasure of wandering alone by moonlight in search of their mistresses: but let us banish sorrow from our hearts: since we are at war, we must think and act like the natives of *Fiji,* who first taught us this destructive art. Let us therefore enjoy the present time, for to-morrow perhaps or the next day we may die. We will dress ourselves with *chi cola,* and put bands of white *táppa* round our waists; we will plait thick wreaths of *jiale* for our heads, and prepare strings of *hooni* for our necks, that their whiteness may shew off the colour of our skins. Mark how the uncultivated spectators are profuse of their applause!—But now the dance is over: let us remain here to-night, and feast and be cheerful, and to-morrow we will depart for the *Mooa.* How troublesome are the young men, begging for our wreaths of flowers, while they say in their flattery, "See how charming these young girls look "coming from *Licoo!*—how beautiful are their skins, dif"fusing around a fragrance like the flowery precipice of "*Mataloco:*"—Let us also visit *Licoo;* we will depart to-morrow.

134 241 The beautiful plantation, of which the above song is partly descriptive, is famed for the great fertility of its fields: the liberal hand of nature has there planted the bread-fruit and

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[*] A kind of dance performed by torch-light.

cocoa-nut trees in abundance; the soil is also 134
highly favourable for the cultivation of yams, 241
which grow there larger than in most other
places. The water which terminates it at one 136
end is noted for the vast abundance of a peculiar fish which resort to the shores of Vavaoo about the month of July. This fish they call *Ooloo Caoo*, and is about the size of the common sprat, and of much the same shape and
hue. The common people consider it a great 262
delicacy, but there is considerable danger of [164]
being poisoned by eating them promiscuously, [165]
for here and there is found one which, on eat- [565]
ing, produces the most alarming and sometimes [825]
the most fatal effects*; and as there is no mark by which these poisonous ones may be known, it is always dangerous to eat of them, unless they be procured in the rocky bay of this plantation, where, they say, they never found any poisonous, and therefore partake of them without any reserve: the chiefs however seldom touch them, unless perhaps there is a scarcity of other
fish. The time when they are best and in 226
the greatest plenty is in the latter end of the 285

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* The symptoms produced are headach, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhœa, with violent pains in the bowels, to which death generally succeeds in the course of four or five hours.
The only remedy they use (which very seldom succeeds) is [152]
to cause the patient to drink abundantly of water, or, what is considered still better, the milk of young cocoa-nuts.

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
where having procured a quantity, they take
them home to their families in baskets made of
plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
423 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
431 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
634 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
Mariner, having now nothing particular in
727 which to employ himself, the war being at an
423 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
425 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
634 seeing it properly cultivated: to this the king,
[651] after a little hesitation, consented; when Mr.
[609] Mariner requested the farther favour that he
might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief
might despoil his plantation, under pretext of
levying any species of contribution; and this
exemption, he observed, would be no more than
what was consistent with the Tonga custom,
which exacts no contribution from foreigners,
unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion,
as the ceremony of *inâchi*, &c. To this also
the king gave his assent, upon mutual agree-
ment, that the whole plantation was to be con-
sidered at Finow's service, as being the father
and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he
would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

in any way without Mr. Mariner's consent, 727
who was to regulate every thing regarding it 423
just as he pleased, and was henceforth to consider 634
it as his property, together with all the [425]
persons who worked on it. consisting of thirteen men and eight women. To these the king gave orders they should pay the same attention and respect to Mr. Mariner as to himself or their former chief; he moreover informed the *matooa*, or overseer, that he had invested Mr. Mariner with full power to dispatch any of them with the club that failed in their duty, or neglected in any respect to shew proper attention to their new master. To this, in the usual form, they all returned thanks to the king for the new chief he had been pleased to appoint over them, and expressed their hopes that they should never deserve punishment by any want of respect towards the "stranger chief." As [431]
soon as Mr. Mariner entered upon his new possessions, he gave orders to get ready a large bale of gnatoo, which he sent to Finow as a present.

About this time Mr. Mariner was very near 727
being devoured by a shark. One of his servants [226]
that worked upon the plantation had laid pots about four feet deep in the water for the purpose of catching cray-fish, and Mr. Mariner one afternoon dived down to examine them, in

72 hopes that he should be able to fulfil a promise
[226] he had made to Toobó mo Laképa the Prince's favourite wife (whose situation required a few indulgences) to bring her some of this sort of fish. The spot was just upon the perpendicular declivity of a shelf of rocks. Having come up to take breath with the intention of going down a second time, he saw with terror the dorsal fin of a shark gliding swiftly along the surface of the water directly towards him; he instantly clambered upon the reef and sprung on one side; in a moment after the deadly enemy, coming with impetuosity, rushed upon the shelf (in a foot and a half water) within a yard of him, and had some difficulty to get off again. As soon as he had recovered from his consternation, for at first he scarcely knew where he was, he quickly got off the reef, making very strong resolutions to avoid for the future a personal search after cray-fish in such situations.

About a month after this a canoe came from
23 one of the neighbouring small islands, bringing intelligence that a large dead spermaceti whale
[484] had drifted on a reef, off Vavaoo. Immediately all the chiefs ordered their canoes to be launched, that they might witness this unusual sight; and Mr. Mariner went along with them.
[301] They found the whale in a very bad state, half

decayed, and sending forth no very agreeable 237
odour: this however was a circumstance they 301
did not much regard, their object being the teeth, of the substance of which they make a kind of necklace, by cutting it into smaller pieces, each preserving the shape of a whale's tooth, from an inch to four inches long, having a hole in the broadest part, through which they are closely strung, and put round the neck; the largest being in front, and the others decreasing in size on each side, up to the back of the neck; so that, when drawn close, their pointed extremities spread out, and form a very agreeable ornament upon their brown skins, and is much prized by them, on account of its scarcity as well as beauty. This has given rise [412]
to the accounts which voyagers have given that they wear teeth round their necks, whereas they are only forms of teeth cut out of the tooth of the whale; and it is astonishing with what neatness they do this, making as little waste as would be possible to do with much better instruments than what they possess; which is nothing, in general, but a common shaped European chisel, or a piece of a saw, or in defect of these, a flattened nail rendered sharp: before they procured iron from European ships, they made use of a sharp stone. This kind of ivory they also use to inlay their 237
531

237 clubs with, as well as their wooden pillows (see
531 p. 127:) the high price set upon these ornaments will be exemplified in the following account, which Finow, on this occasion, gave to Mr. Mariner.

A short time after the revolt at Tonga, when
685 Finow first became sovereign of Hapai and Va-
237 vaoo, news was brought him of a large dead
634 whale being drifted on a reef, off a small island,
422 inhabited only by one man and his wife; who
565 had the cultivation of a small plantation there. Finow immediately sailed for this place, and finding the teeth taken from the whale, questioned the man about them, who thereupon went to his house, and taking down a basket from the roof presented it to him, but in it were only two teeth. The man protested that he put them all there, and knew nothing more about them; and taxing his wife with having concealed them, she acknowledged that she had secreted one, and brought it to him, from a place in which no others were found; but this she assured him was all she had taken. The man defended his innocence on the plea that the teeth would be of no use to him; for being poor, he could not sell them for any thing else, since every chief who could afford to give their value would question his right to them, and take them from him: and, for the

same reason, he could not wear them. Finow 685
was not satisfied with this plea, and being un- 237
able to make them confess by fair means, he 634
threatened them both with death: the man 422
still protesting his innocence, Finow ordered 565
him to be immediately dispatched with a club; which being done, he again threatened the woman, and she as strongly protested her innocence: but when the club which had just ended the life of her husband was raised over her own head, she acknowledged that she had concealed another tooth, and accordingly brought it from a different place; and being unable or unwilling to produce any more, she shared the same fate. Finow's conduct here seems very cruel; but however, we are to place a great deal to the account of the state of society in which he lived; and at the same time, we must consider that robbery is punished with death in other countries, as well as in Tonga. But what is most worthy of reflection is the strong hold which that ridiculous passion avarice takes of the human mind, which sometimes disposes a man to suffer death rather than part with what he cannot or will not ever make use of. Both the man and woman, in all probability, were guilty; the woman certainly was; and yet she could bear to see her husband sacrificed before her face rather than confess all she knew of the

685 matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if
237 not for herself. The remainder of these teeth
634 were discovered a long time afterwards, by the
422 particular intervention (as the natives will have
565 it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when
there being occasion to build and consecrate a
346 house to some god, on the island of Lefooga,
237 it was taken into consideration what valuable
article should be deposited beneath its foundation,
according to the custom on such occasions.
346 They were about to get ready a large
237 bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the inspired
793 priest of the god declared it to be the
787 wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth;
and that there were several buried together on
the small island just spoken of, in such a particular
spot: which place being referred to and
dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state.
This discovery was most firmly and most piously
believed to have been made by the sacred
interposition of the god himself, who inspired
his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge
to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if
171 possible, in still greater estimation, for it would
237 be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a
great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner,
to be known to have a whale's tooth
about him; the personal possession of such a

valuable property would endanger his life: the 171
axe, or the club, on some unlucky occasion, 287
would deprive him of it for ever, and of his life
too.

The whale of which we have been speaking 262
as just found was, for the most part, in a very 565
corrupted state; there were, however, some places where it was not quite so bad; and as whale's flesh was rather a novelty, (and as novelty is often a provocative of appetite) the lower orders managed to make a meal of it.

About this time a ship arrived off the north- 727
west coast of Vavaoo. She proved to be the Hope, Captain Chase, of New York. When Mr. Mariner heard the agreeable intelligence of her arrival, he was with Finow at the small island of Ofoo, on the eastern coast of Vavaoo. He immediately asked the king leave to go on board, who very readily and very kindly gave his permission. Several matabooles were with him, one of whom whispered something to the king, which Mr. Mariner imagining to be prejudicial to himself, endeavoured to distract Finow's attention by repeatedly thanking him for his liberal conduct towards him, and expressing the grateful sense he entertained of his long continued friendship and protection; assuring him that he had no other wish to leave the islands but what was prompted by the natural desire

727 of returning to his native country, and the bosom of his friends. In the mean time he very distinctly heard the king say to the mataboole, "but why should I keep him?" and shortly after, his order to a fisherman to get ready instantly a certain canoe, and paddle Mr. Mariner on board, removed from his mind a load of anxiety. He again and again thanked his benefactor; and, taking an affectionate leave of him, got into the canoe, and pushed off from the beach. There were three men to paddle, who after four or five hours hard pulling came up alongside the vessel. He saw upon the deck, Jeremiah Higgins, John Parish, and Hugh Williams. He hailed the ship; when the captain, or the mate, looked over the quarter, and said, "We "can't take you, young man: we have more "hands than we know what to do with." Mr. Mariner could hardly believe the evidence of his senses;—not take him! when he saw three of his companions already on board. He began to expostulate:—"It is no use your saying any "thing, we can't take you," replied the other. He then offered to procure whatever provisions the ship might want, but the unfeeling miscreant turned his back, and gave no answer. Thus, in one minute, from the elevation of hope his soul sunk into despair; what to say,—what to do,—he knew not. Besides suffering the acute pain

of disappointment, he found himself in a very awkward dilemma. If the natives knew that the captain had refused to take him, it would hurt his reputation greatly in their esteem, as they would look upon him to be a low-born *tooa*, without friends or consideration in his own country. During this time the men in the canoe were too much occupied in viewing the appearance of the ship, to pay much attention to him. Having at length a little recovered himself by resisting the disagreeable ideas that were crowding in upon his mind, he endeavoured to assume a cheerful countenance; and informed the men that unfortunately the ship was bound to a country as far from his, as his was from Tonga; and although the captain wished him to come on board, he had determined to remain at Vavaoo until some British ship should arrive.—With feelings that almost choked his utterance he now ordered them to return to Ofoo. Every body wondered to see him return: his story however was readily believed; but it seemed strange that he had brought them no presents from on board. "What a number of axes he has "got for us," said one ironically: "And what "a heap of looking-glasses," said another. "Beads will now become quite common," said a third; "for Togi is going to give necklaces "to all the girls in Vavaoo." These jokes were

721 exceedingly mortifying, and nothing could be worse timed. He endeavoured to laugh at their humour; and by way of apology for his neglect, he told them that he was so disappointed at not finding the ship bound for his own country, that he had forgotten to ask for some presents: and besides, that he knew she had very few of those things on board, as she came from a country where they were scarce. Finow endeavoured to console him for his disappointment, assuring him in the kindest manner that he should go by the next ship bound to his own country. Some women informed Mr. Mariner that the matabooles had endeavoured to persuade Finow to retain him; but the king replied, that he and his companions had already suffered enough in having the ship taken from them, and being themselves kept so long from their native country, and that he did not think as the matabooles did, that it was the disposition of the Papalangis to return and take revenge!

484 Another month now elapsed without any important circumstance occurring, when there arrived from the Fiji islands four canoes, bringing a Tonga mataboole, named Cow Mooala and his retinue, who had been absent from Tonga many years: but a narrative of this person's adventures in foreign islands will best form a chapter of itself.[A]

[A] [For this narrative, see category 116, pp. 307-335--Analyst]

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CHAPTER X.

Cow Mooala's narrative—His early residence at the Fiji islands—Is drifted to Fotoona on his return to Tonga—Particular customs of Fotoona—Arrives at Lotooma on his return to Fiji—Character of the people—Popular tale of two giants—Arrives at Navihi Levoo, one of the Fiji islands—Character of the people—Their cannibalism—Observations—Sails for the island of Pau, the most important of the Fiji islands: its traffic—Account of an European vessel wrecked there—Anecdote of a gigantic lizard, (probably a crocodile) which did much mischief at a neighbouring isle: stratagem used to destroy it—Farther account of Pau—Description of several customs of the Fiji islands—Description of the island of Chichia, and its strong fortress: some account of its war with Pau—Description of a cannibal feast—Feast given by Finow on Cow Mooala's return to Tonga. 000

Cow Mooala went out to the Fiji islands with 484 a number of young men, for the sake of an excursion, and to mingle in the wars of those people; sometimes at one island, sometimes at another, from the same motives probably as actuated Tooi Hala Fatai: (see p. 68). After having been absent about two years, he set sail on his return home, and having arrived within sight of Vavaoo, the wind became unfavourable to land, and the sea running very high, he was

484 obliged to change his course, and make for Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands;) but the wind soon increasing to a heavy gale, drifted him to the island of Fotoona, situated to the 000 north-west of Hamoa. As soon as the natives of this place observed his approach, a number of small canoes (for they were not in possession of sailing canoes) came from the shore to meet him; and, consistently with the laws and customs of the island, took possession of his canoe, and all his property. It forms an important part of the religion of this island to consider every thing that arrives there, whether of great or little value, as the property of their gods; no matter whether it be a large canoe, or a log of wood. It is first offered to the gods by the priest, with an appropriate address *, and is afterwards shared out among the chiefs. This spoliation is believed to be necessary for the welfare of the country; lest the gods should send a sickness among them, and cut them off, for infringing upon this great doctrine of their religion. This seems a very arbitrary law, and likely to have been invented for the purpose of plundering strangers, under the mask of reli-

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* This is the method of making offerings to the gods in Tonga; and, as Cow Mooala made no mention of any thing particular in this ceremony, among the people of Fotoona, it is presumed to be conducted in the same way.

gion; this, however, is not absolutely the case; 000 for although they strip all strangers, without distinction, that come within their power, yet in return they fit them out with other canoes, (entirely at the expense of the chiefs who shared the plunder;) and supply them with so much of the produce of the island as may be necessary to support them in their way home; together with presents of their *gnatoo*, mats, tortoise-shell, &c.: and withal behave very kindly: but not one single article that has been taken from them, however small the value, is again returned, even with the most earnest entreaty. Cow Mooala's canoe was laden with sandal wood*, esteemed a very rich commodity at Tonga, but not one splinter of it was ever returned to him; although the natives of Fotoona could make no use of it, not having adopted the practice of oiling themselves. His canoe was dragged on shore, broken to pieces, and offered up to the gods; afterward the planks were shared out among the chiefs, who devoted them to the

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* Sandal wood is of the growth of one of the Fiji islands, called Pau, and of only one spot upon this island, called Voofa. It has, indeed, been planted upon other of the Fiji islands, but without coming to any state of perfection. It has also been transplanted to the Tonga islands, but with as little success: for the wood thus produced possesses little or no scent, and consequently is unfit for their purpose, viz. to perfume the oil with which they anoint themselves.

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000 purpose of building smaller canoes, one large canoe making four small ones. They seem to have no inclination to visit distant islands, and never therefore build large canoes for themselves; and consequently have no personal knowledge of any country but their own, except a few individuals among them, who have gone away with strangers from motives of curiosity, in large canoes built for the purpose.

Cow Mooala described their method of fighting, (for it appears they cannot do without civil wars) which is conducted, according to his account, in two different modes, that is to say, with spears and with shark's teeth. When a man pierces his enemy with a pike, he endeavours to lift him up from the ground on one end of it, or if opportunity will allow, he calls some of his comrades to his assistance, who thrusting their pikes also into him, they lift him high in the air, and carry him in triumph. The mode of fighting with shark's teeth is as follows: the teeth being fixed in three rows on the palm and fingers of a species of glove made of the plaited bark of the *heábo*, and both hands being armed in this manner, every man endeavours to come to a close scuffle with his antagonist, and to tear open his bowels with these horrid weapons. The supreme chief in Cow Mooala's time was a man of remarkable bodily strength, and was always accustomed to fight with this sort of gauntlet in preference to the pike, not however to tear open the bowels of his enemy, but merely to catch a firmer hold of him whilst he threw him on his face; he would then place his foot upon the small of his back, and, seizing fast hold of the hair of his head, so bend his spine as to break it: with little men or boys, however, he would not take so much trouble, but laying them across his knee, as one would a stick, break their backs without farther ceremony! By way of defence from the pikes of their adversaries, they wear on the left side a species of armour made of the husk of the cocoa-nut plaited thick, and stuffed and quilted on the inside with the loose husk, picked fine: this reaches from the axilla down to the hip. Their wars generally originate in quarrels about hereditary right, or the exaction of tribute. 000

Some time before Cow Mooala arrived, an European vessel, according to their description, (or an American) came to an anchor there. The natives as usual put off in their canoes, with a view to take possession of her according to the authority with which they were invested by the gods. The crew readily allowed them to come on board, supposing them to be governed by the usual spirit of curiosity; but shewed very strong symptoms of opposition when they began, without ceremony, to plunder, and opened such

000 peals of thunder on them that they were obliged to jump overboard and swim to their canoes with all expedition, sustaining the loss of 40 men. If this account be true, it would argue that they had not seen a ship before, or they certainly would have known her power, and not have made such an attempt. There is no ascertaining the point of time when this happened, for the natives keep no account of years, much less of months.

484 Mr. Mariner does not know how long Cow Mooala remained at Fotoona, but it must have been at least a twelvemonth, to have afforded him time to build another large canoe fit for his voyage: which having at length accomplished, he again set sail with presents of *gnatoo*, mats, &c. and a sufficient quantity of provisions for his voyage, and directed his course for the Fiji islands, for the purpose of laying in another cargo of sandal wood. He had now on board thirty-five of his own people, including fourteen or fifteen Tonga women, besides whom he had four male natives of Fotoona, who begged to go with him that they might visit distant countries. In his way he touched at the island of Lotooma (about a day's sail from Fotoona), a place noted for the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and where he was received with an 000 uncommon degree of respect. As they were little accustomed to the appearance of strangers,

they were greatly surprised at the sight of so 000 large a canoe, and considered this chief and his men as hotooas (gods) or superior beings, and would not suffer them to land, till they had spread on the ground a large roll of *gnatoo*, which extended about fifty yards, reaching from the shore to the house prepared for them. At 773 this island Cow Mooala remained but a short 171 time: during his stay, however, the natives [484] treated him with very great respect, and took him to see some bones which were supposed to have belonged once to an immense giant; about whom they relate a marvellous account, which is current at Tonga as well as at Lotooma.

"At a period before men of common stature lived at Tonga, two enormous giants resided there, who happening on some occasion to offend their god, he punished them by causing a scarcity on all the Tonga islands, which obliged them to go and seek food elsewhere. As they were vastly above the ordinary size of the sons of men now-a-days, they were able, with the greatest imaginable ease, to stride from one island to another, provided the distance was not more than about a couple of miles; at all events their stature enabled them to wade through the sea without danger, the water in general not coming higher than their knees, and in the deepest places not higher than their hips.

773 Thus situated, no alternative was left them but
171 to splash through the water in search of a more plentiful soil. At length they came in sight of the island of Lotooma, and viewing it at a distance with hungry eyes, one of them bethought himself that if this small island was ever so fruitful it could not supply more food than would be sufficient for himself at one meal; he resolved therefore wisely, out of pure consideration for his own stomach, to make an end of his companion: this he accordingly did, but by what means, whether by drowning him, strangling him, or giving him a blow on the head, tradition does not say. When he arrived at Lotooma he was no doubt very hungry, but at the same time he felt himself so sleepy that he was resolved to lie down and take a nap, particularly as night was fast approaching, and to satisfy his hunger the next morning: and very lucky it was for the poor natives that he did so, (for it appears this island was inhabited at that time). He accordingly made a pillow of the island of Lotooma, and not choosing to lie in the water, he stretched his legs (for so the story goes) over to the island of Fotoona, making a sort of bridge from one place to the other. By and by he snored to such a degree that both islands, particularly Lotooma, were shaken as if by an earthquake, so as greatly to disturb the peace-

able inhabitants. The people of the latter island 773
being roused from their slumbers were greatly 171
alarmed, and well they might be, at this unseasonable and extraordinary noise. Having repaired to the place where his head lay, and discovering that it was an immense gigantic being fast asleep, they held a consultation what was best to be done; and came at length to a resolution of killing him, if possible, before he awoke, lest he might eat them all up. With this intention every man armed himself with an axe, and at a signal given they all struck his head at the same moment; up started the giant with a tremendous roar, and recovering his feet he stood aloft on the island of Lotooma, but being stunned with the blows, he staggered and fell again, with his head and body in the sea, and being unable to recover himself, he was drowned, his feet remaining upon dry land; and thus the great enemy was destroyed."

As a proof of these facts they shew two enormous bones, which, as they say, belonged to this giant, and the natives in general believe it. The people of Tonga, however, are not quite so credulous with respect to this story, which they
generally tell in a jocose way. Mr. Mariner 000
asked Cow Mooala what sort of bones they were; he replied that they were enormously large, he could not well describe their shape,—

000 that he was sure they were bones, though they were not at all like any human bones, and he supposed they must have belonged to some fish. To any new comer from Lotooma the first question is, "have you seen the "giant's bones?" But it would appear that communications with Lotooma were not very frequent, since the inhabitants made so sad a mistake as to think Cow Mooala and his followers gods.

484 Cow Mooala shortly took his departure from Lotooma, with three of the native women on board, in addition to his other followers, and sailed for the Fiji islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo, (as the natives call it, meaning large Fiji: the word Navihi is corrupted by the Tonga people to Fiji,) one of the Fiji islands, to the north-west. Here Cow Mooala took up his residence with the chief of the island, where he remained a considerable length of time, assisting in the war
829 with other islands. The inhabitants of Navihi
727 Levoo are much more ferocious than those of most of the other Fiji islands; this, however, is not stated merely upon the authority of Cow Mooala, who occasionally was apt to exaggerate a little, as will by and by be seen, but upon that of Mr. Mariner, who frequently saw and con-

versed with some of its natives, as well as with 829
those of the other islands, who were at Tonga 727
in his time; besides which he has since been at Pau, one of the Fiji islands, and consequently is able to form some judgment. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are not only more ferocious, 000
but they are much better skilled in war than those of the other islands, and are therefore much dreaded by them: to give themselves a fiercer appearance, they bore a hole through the soft part of the septum of [illegible] nose, through which, in time of war, they stick a couple of feathers, nine or twelve inches long, which spread out over each side of the face, like immense mustaches, giving them a very formidable appearance. The worst feature of their barbarism is the horrible practice of eating human flesh, which they carry to a greater extent than any of the other Fiji people. The chief of the island was reported to have a remarkable appetite in this way, we must not take him therefore as a sample for the rest; for he was not in the habit of sacrificing his prisoners immediately, (finding them perhaps too tough for his delicate stomach,) but of actually ordering them to be operated on, and put in such a state as to get both fat and tender, afterwards to be killed as he might want them. The hands and feet, particularly the latter, are considered the choicest parts.

000 It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged: not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary;) but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts*, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time.
[266] At the Fiji islands war and devastation are much
[171] more frequent than at the Tonga islands, con-
sequently scarcity is also much more frequent,
[669] and cannibalism accordingly much more prac-
[261] tised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more troubled by intestine war than the other Fiji

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* Mr. Mariner had from good authority a circumstance that
266 may be mentioned here as illustrative of the point in ques-
578 tion. A certain man at Tonga had a violent hatred to another, whom he sought an opportunity of killing in battle; at length he succeeded; and, cutting open the body, dissected off the
[829] liver, and took it home to his house. He tied the liver up in a piece of *gnatoo*, and whenever he wanted to drink water or cocoa-nut milk, he would dip it in, and then squeezing out some of the juice into his beverage, drink it off to satisfy his revenge: this fact was universally known and spoken of, but with much disgust. The cause of his enmity was the ill usage which his wife had received on being taken prisoner by the other. Mr. Mariner knew the man.

islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
called) is constantly in a state of war, and 669
scarcity consequently is much more common
there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and 261
cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
islands, but then it has not been the scene
of warfare for more than about twenty years,
whereas the latter nation has been familiar,
more or less, with this scourge of the human
race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may mention, 175
that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
European ship touched there, the boat of which,
on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
some of the natives, in consequence of which,
three of her crew were killed and dragged up
the country. These the natives embowelled 175
and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
were all taken very ill, being attacked with [165]
nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
three of them actually died. Some of the natives [829]
attributed this circumstance to an un-
wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

175 to the superior power of the gods of England,
727 in the way of revenge for killing white men.
266 They were strongly corroborated in their opi-
829 nion of the superiority of the gods of England,
by the circumstance that almost every man who
829 had been actively concerned in the conspiracy
727 against the Port au Prince happened either to
[165] be killed in battle or to die of disease, during
the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands;
and they would often question him whether it
were not owing to the interference of the En-
glish gods as a punishment; to which he al-
ways answered them in the affirmative, with a
view to his own safety, and to inspire them with
respect for the invisible powers, which, accord-
ing to their notions, presided over the welfare
of England and of Englishmen. Some of the
natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill
Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of
England would revenge his death, alleging their
disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the En-
glish hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr.
Mariner himself had been the cause of their
death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to re-
[565] venge the death of his countrymen. This,
however, was a notion chiefly of the lower
orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that
the hotooas of England operated of their own
accord, without any intervention or prayer.

Finow was strongly of this opinion, observing 829
that it was but fair to suppose that, in the same 634
proportion as the white men were superior to
them in knowledge, so were the hotooas of
white men superior to their hotooas in divine
power. But to return from this digression.

Cow Mooala, after remaining a considerable 484
time at Navihi Levoo, sailed with his people for
Tacownove, which is a district on the western
side of Pau, the largest of the Fiji islands. Pau 000
is much resorted to by American vessels, and
vessels from Port Jackson, for sandal-wood,
which grows to perfection only at a certain
part of the island, called Vooi'a. The principal
market for this article is China; and the demand
for it is so great, in proportion to the smallness
of the place which produces it, that it is now
growing scarce, and, consequently, dearer. Formerly
they would give a considerable quantity
for a few nails, but now they demand axes and
chisels, and those, too, of the best quality, for
they have gradually become judges of such
things: whales' teeth are also given in exchange
for it. The chiefs of the Fiji islands very seldom
oil themselves, and, consequently, require very
little of this wood, the principal use of it being
to scent the oil. The natives of the Tonga 439
islands, however, who require a considerable
quantity of it for the above purpose, complain

439 heavily of its scarcity; and what renders the matter still worse for them, is, that the Fiji people, demanding a greater number of axes and chisels for a given quantity of the wood, these implements are growing very scarce at the Tonga islands, and plentiful at Fiji. Before the Tonga people acquired iron implements, they usually gave whales' teeth, gnatoo, mats for sails, and platt; but whales' teeth are exceedingly scarce, and the other articles are too bulky for ready exportation. The *sting* of the fish called stingray was also occasionally given, but these *stings*, which they use for the points [136] of spears, are by no means plentiful. This fish is found in the greatest quantity at an island called Ooea, which lies about mid-way between Vavaoo and Hamoa. Another article of exchange is a peculiar species of shell, which they [137] find only at Vavaoo, and is also scarce. It has already been remarked that the sandal-wood tree will not bear to be transplanted to Tonga.

000 During the time Cow Mooala was at Pau, a vessel was wrecked on a reef off that island. All the crew, except a couple, perished. The wreck was taken possession of by the natives; they got out of her a number of dollars, and a quantity of muslins, with some other East India commodities. From these circumstances it would appear that she was an American smuggler on

her return from Peru, with part of her original 000 cargo undisposed of. One of the men was afterwards killed in a quarrel with the other. Mr. Mariner could not learn the name of the vessel.

The people of Pau gave Cow Mooala an account of an *enormous lizard*, which they supposed must have come from Bolotoo, and sent by the gods. They stated that, late one evening, a canoe put in at a neighbouring small island, to remain there for the night, being on her way to some more distant island. The weather being very hot, and the crew much fatigued, they resolved to sleep out the night upon the open beach. When they had been asleep some time, they were awakened on a sudden by the loud cries of one of their companions; starting up, they observed by the light of the moon, with the utmost astonishment, a prodigious lizard (as they termed it), plunge into the water. At this they were greatly alarmed, and, missing a man, they went farther up the country for safety. Early in the morning, one of them (a young lad) went into the sea to bathe, and was also snatched away by the monster. The whole island was soon in a state of alarm; every body, on hearing the news, flocked to the beach, but no lizard was to be seen. In the course of the day, they who belonged to the canoe took their departure. A

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few days elapsed, during which the prodigy was no where to be found, and they supposed it was gone away altogether, imagining it to have been a visitation from a god for some crime they had committed. One evening, however, while a woman was washing some *talo* root in a salt water lake, about a quarter of a mile from the beach, surrounded by thick rushes, the monster suddenly made his appearance, and, seizing the unfortunate woman, plunged with her into the lake. The people of the neighbouring houses having given the alarm, all the inhabitants of the island were soon up in arms, and, running to the spot, uttered loud exclamations, and threw stones and various things into the lake; in consequence of which, the animal, being disturbed, rushed out, and made towards the sea, pursued by a number of men, who threw spears at him; but these were of no avail, his hard scales proved impenetrable to such weapons, and this circumstance, filling them with increased alarm and wonder, made them dreadfully afraid of him, and confirmed them in the opinion that it must be a god, for they saw him escape unhurt into the sea. In this way he had destroyed nine people at different places, partly on this island, and partly on another small island, close in the neighbourhood, when an old man, who had observed that he came on shore every morning at one particular place near the lake, in which he afterwards concealed himself, boldly devised a method to destroy him. Between the beach and the lake was a large *fehi* tree; and the old man's plan was this:—to procure a long rope, and, passing it over a strong branch of this tree, to let one end, at which there was a running noose, hang near the ground, whilst the other end was to be in the possession of about fourteen or fifteen strong men, concealed at a little distance in high grass. The old man, who was a staunch warrior, and well fitted for such a perilous task, having engaged the solemn promise of his confederates to act their parts with steadiness and fidelity, undertook to walk about on the beach at the time the monster was to be expected, and, at his approach, to recede behind the noose, through which the animal must necessarily pass his head to lay hold of him; at which moment he would call out to them to pull the rope, and noose him tight. Matters being thus adjusted, the expected enemy made his appearance, and ran towards the old man, who took his station behind the noose, and, the moment the animal put his jaws through it, he sprang back, and gave the appointed signal; instantly the cord was drawn tight, and their prey was caught with his head and one paw through the noose; they soon secured the rope,

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000 and, running up, beat him about the head, and pierced him wherever they could, till, at length, after much hard work, they killed him. When their toil was over, the first thing they thought of (for these people have a strange genius), was, to try if he was good to eat: they accordingly cut him up, and, selecting those parts which they thought the tenderest, they baked a sufficient quantity, and, finding it very good, made a hearty meal. Cow Mooala saw the bones of this animal, from the description of which, as well as what he had heard concerning the living animal, Mr. Mariner supposes that it must have been a crocodile that, by some accident, had made its way from the East Indies: and, as it was the first animal of the kind the natives had ever seen, or ever heard of, we need not wonder that they supposed it to be a supernatural lizard, sent by the gods from Bolotoo, as a punishment for their offences.

[829] Pau is decidedly the largest of the Fiji islands, and much larger than Vavaoo; but Cow Mooala gave an exaggerated account of its size, describing it to be so large, that many of the people in its interior had never seen the sea, owing to their distance from it; and that the people living on the mountains, and who constantly resided there to avoid the frequent wars and disturbances on the plains below,

very seldom came down; and when they did, and saw fish for the first time, would not believe but what they were hotooas, (gods,) and wondered very much to see people eat them. The mountains on the western side, called Tacownove, are the highest. On the base of one of these mountains are two hot springs, situated near together, at which a neighbouring garrison generally boil their yams and plantains, by putting them into a vessel with holes in the side, and suffering the boiling water to pass through it*.

The natives of the Fiji islands are much more curly headed than those of the Tonga islands; and all of them, both men and women, powder their hair with the ashes of the bread-fruit leaf, or with powdered lime, prepared from the coral, or else with soot collected from the smoke of the *tooi-tooi*. The pulverized lime is only worn now and then with a view to stiffen their hair, which it does remarkably well. In using either of these substances, they plentifully diffuse it through water, in which they dip their heads; and when the hair is dry they dip again, repeating this operation three or four times: the hair be-

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* Jeremiah Higgins, who was at these islands thirteen weeks, saw the steam arising from these springs, but he had not an opportunity of approaching the spot.

000 coming now replete with the powder, when quite dry they work it up with great care and attention, occupying three or four hours in frizzing it out with a sort of comb, to a considerable distance from the head, resembling an immense wig, from four to nine inches thick, being raised equally from the head, at the top, A [171] [291] back, and sides. Like the Tonga people, they‸ generally go bareheaded; but to preserve this fine head-dress from being injured by the dews of the night, they usually cover it with about a square yard of white *gnatoo*, beaten out very fine, so as to appear the more light and elegant; and this is quite sufficient to keep off the moisture: they tie it on with remarkable neatness.

At the Fiji islands the boys and girls go quite naked, the girls till they are about ten years old, the boys till they are about fourteen: after which periods the girls wear the usual dress of the women, which consists merely in a sort of circular apron, about a foot or fourteen inches broad, worn quite round the waist: when they grow old, it is increased to about a foot and a half in breadth. At the age of fourteen the boy begins to wear the *mahi*, or usual dress of the men, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, as seen by him at the Sandwich islands, where they use the same,

A [The Fijians--Analyst]

though at the Fiji islands it is of much greater 000
length, being wrapped round the body many times: one end of it passes between the legs, so as to represent, when adjusted, what in surgery is called a T bandage*.

Children are married by their parents (or rather betrothed to each other) when they are three or four years old. This circumstance gives rise to the complaint usually made by the natives of Tonga who visit Fiji, that they can find no woman but who is under the protection of a jealous husband. This Cow Mooala sadly complained of; and it leads us to the inference, that the women there are very faithful to their husbands. A man may have several wives; but the greatest chief, that is, she who is of the best family, is the principal wife; and in respect to her,—if her husband die first, she must be strangled on the day of his death, and afterwards buried with him. Mr. Mariner knows this fact from what hap- 563
pened at Vavaoo, a short time after the peace 768
with Toe Oómoo; and as it was not mentioned at that time, the present is a fit oppor-

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* At these islands they perform circumcision at fourteen [171]
years of age, after the Judaic method, i. e. by drawing for-
ward the præputium, and cutting off a section. At the [304]
Tonga islands they only make a longitudinal incision of the upper part of the præputium.

563 tunity to relate it. Among Finow's followers,
768 there was a certain chief, a native of Fiji, who about that period fell ill and died: his wife, who was also a native of Fiji, in accordance with the religious notions in which she had been brought up, considered it a breach of duty to outlive him; she therefore desired to be strangled. All her Tonga friends endeavoured to dissuade her from what appeared to them so unnecessary and useless an act; but no! she was determined, she said, to fulfil her duty, in defect of which she should never be happy in her mind,—the hotooas of Fiji would punish her; and thus, by living, she should only incur fresh miseries. Her friends, finding all remonstrances in vain, allowed her to do as she pleased: she accordingly laid herself down on the ground, by the side of her deceased husband, with her face upwards; and desiring a couple of Fiji men to perform their duty, they put a band of *gnatoo* round her neck, and pulling at each end, soon ended her existence*. In the evening they were buried together in the same grave, in a sitting posture, according
[727] to the Fiji custom. Mr. Mariner happened not to be present when she was strangled, but

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* It used to be the custom at Tonga, when the divine
[178] chief, Tooitonga, died, to strangle his chief wife; but this
[766] absurd practice was left off during Mr. Mariner's time.

arrived in time to see them buried, and to hear 563
the account of the recent event from those 768
who had been eye-witnesses. 727

Both sexes at the Fiji islands adopt the custom of making an incision in the lobe of each 000
ear, and introducing a piece, about an inch long, of the mid-rib of the plantain leaf, to keep it distended: when healed, they introduce a thicker piece, and afterwards a still larger piece of the wood of the tree itself, so as to cause the lobe of the ear to spread and hang down considerably. This practice, as it is considered ornamental, the women carry to a much greater extent than the men; and at length introduce such large pieces, that the lobe of the ear hangs down almost as low as the shoulder, the opening thus made being about ten inches in circumference. Frequently, by overstretching the lobe, it splits; and there are many women seen with it hanging down in two slips!! Their skins are by no means so smooth and sleek as those of the Tonga people, owing, probably, to the circumstance of their not oiling themselves.

The gods are consulted in much the same [727]
way as at Tonga: there are, indeed, some few trifling differences in the ceremony, but these Mr. Mariner is not sufficiently acquainted with to state accurately: although he was after-

[72] wards at Pau, he had not an opportunity of seeing this ceremony.

Close to Pau lies a very small island, called Chichia, which is in itself a fortress almost impregnable. The nearest part is not more than a hundred yards from Pau; and, at low water, joins it by a ridge of sand. At the place where this ridge joins Chichia, there is a high rock, almost perforated by nature, and which art has rendered completely so. This rock is converted into a strong fortress, commanding the whole island, which, indeed, is rendered inaccessible in every part, by a heavy surf and dangerous rocks, except just to the left of the large rock, and that part is defended by a high fencing. On this small but strong island several natives of Tonga resided, for the chief was partial to them, because his wife was a native of that place; he therefore readily admitted Cow Mooala and his men to come also and reside with him. Cow Mooala took an active part with the chief of Chichia in his war against the people of Pau.

This war had been kept up for a long time, the people of Chichia constantly committing depredations on the people of Pau, without these being at all able to retaliate. From time to time they had taken a great number of prisoners, which were kept apart for a purpose

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directly to be mentioned. A few days before the period that Cow Mooala had fixed on for his return to Vavaoo, the chief of Chichia made a sortie from his strong hold, and gave a general battle to the people of Pau. The men of Chichia were victorious, and returned in triumph to their little island. The chief, elated by these victories, resolved now to have an extraordinary feast before the departure of Cow Mooala. On the following day, therefore, a grand warlike dance was performed by the men, with bracelets of fringed bark under their knees, and of shells round their arms. Their bodies and faces were painted with various configurations, in black and yellow, producing, no doubt, a strange appearance. Each man was armed with a club and spear; and, thus equipped, the whole body of them exhibited various warlike attitudes, such as throwing the spear, striking with the club, &c.—shouting and singing alternately. When they had finished their dancing, they sat down to drink cava; after which the chief gave orders to his cooks to bring forward the feast: immediately they advanced two and two, each couple bearing on their shoulders a basket, in which was the body of a man barbacued like a hog. The bodies were placed before the chief, who was seated at the head of his company, on a large

000 green. When all these victims were placed on the ground, hogs were brought in like manner; after that, baskets of yams, on each of which was a baked fowl. These being deposited in like manner, the number of *dishes* was counted, and announced aloud to the chief, when there appeared to be two hundred human bodies, two hundred hogs, two hundred baskets of yams, and a like number of fowls. The provisions were then divided into various portions, and each declared to be the portion of such a god; after which they were given to the care of as many principal chiefs, who shared them out to all their dependants, so that every man and woman in the island had a portion of each of these articles, whether they chose to eat them or not.

It would be perhaps increasing the horror of this picture beyond the truth to state that every person present partook of human flesh: these unfortunate victims were sacrificed and cooked more for a matter of form, probably, than any thing else; but it must be confessed that the chiefs, warriors, and more ferocious part of the company, partook of this inhuman diet, and several of them feasted on it. Such, at least, was the account of Cow Mooala; and Mr. Mariner has too much reason to think it true, because he afterwards heard the same ac-

count from several of the natives of Chichia 000
who visited Tonga.

A few days afterwards Cow Mooala set sail 484
for Vavaoo, where he arrived safe with about
fifty attendants, as formerly noted, consisting
of Tonga people, natives of Fiji, and others.
As soon as his arrival was made known to Finow, 527
he issued orders to the owners of the different [431]
plantations of Vavaoo to bring to the *malái* at
Neáfoo whatever they could afford, as presents
to Cow Mooala and his companions *.

On this occasion there were wrestling, fight- 527
ing with clubs, cava drinking, &c., as formerly 526
described. It must be remarked, however,
that when these great exhibitions of wrestling
and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for the new comers to be challenged by any one or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating. No man, however, is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it: in short, as they merely beat one another in a friendly way, it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any

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* It is always customary to make presents in this way to any newly arrived party, particularly to persons much respected, as was Cow Mooala, or who have been long absent.

527 man may take an active part, if he feels himself
526 at all so disposed. In these encounters they
164 frequently get their arms broken; but this
752 gives no one any concern, scarcely even the
527 party who suffers, who immediately gets it set
526 by any one in the company, (and they are all
tolerably expert at this from frequent practice,)
and bound up with bandages of *gnatoo*, using
splints made from the cocoa-nut tree.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a canoe from the island of Tonga, bringing a chief and two young matabooles, with a petition from Toobo Malohi: they give an account of the late transactions there, viz. Teoo Cava, chief of Hihifo, being joined by the chiefs and men that formerly belonged to Nioocalofa, makes an attack on the fortress of Noókoo-Noókoo, and takes it: the enemy return in the night, and set fire to it—Teoo Cava, making his escape, is stopped and killed by a Fiji islander—Conduct of Ata in the defence of Hihifo, and the bravery of Máccapápa—Grief of Teoo Cava's widows for his loss—Reference to an anecdote in the missionary voyage respecting Eliza Mosey (note)—Petition of Toobó Malóhi and his chiefs to Finow: their reception by him, and ceremony of pardon—Toobo Malohi's conversation with Finow, and his ultimate departure for the Hapai islands. 000

Soon after Cow Mooala's arrival from the Fiji 669
islands, Finow received intelligence from Toobo 727
Toa (chief of the Hapai islands) that a canoe 728
had arrived at Lefooga, from the island of 643
Tonga, with a chief, and two young mata- [484]
booles. They came to petition Finow for pardon, in behalf of a great chief, named Toobó Malohi, elder brother of Toobo Toa, who had been long resident at the island of Tonga, and had defended the cause of Finow's enemies. As this chief brought very interesting informa- 728
tion of all the recent events at the island of

128 Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions
in the order in which they happened, and
conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted
by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the
669 fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga,
727 which Finow besieged with the four carronades,
643 and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great
[726] slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was
chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence
of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it,
with such of his followers as could save themselves,
and fled up the country, to seek refuge
[167] in some other fortress. This chief had all
along been unfortunate: at the time of the
[177] great revolution of Tonga, and the early success
of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with
his followers, and had resided there some time;
[166] gaining experience in the art of war. On his
return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa;
from which he was afterwards driven
by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge
in some other fortress; from which, owing to
the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause,
he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a
third; from whence he was driven by some untoward
circumstance; and thus he became, in
fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to
receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

at length, however, he considered himself to 669
have found a permanent asylum in the fortress 727
of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had 643
made Finow a present of the extraordinary well
trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his [166]
followers in a very cordial manner, considering [701]
them a great acquisition to his strength; for
they had the reputation of being all great warriors,
well schooled in the military practices of
Fiji.

Teoo Cava, at length finding that no enemy 669
thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay 726
siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo: he
was successful in his attack, and took it with
an inconsiderable loss of men. This being 565
done, he determined, contrary to the advice of 669
his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. 723
The reason the matabooles gave for the impolicy
of this conduct, was the readiness with
which the enemy made their retreat; which
they thought argued their intentions of returning
speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition,
and desire of larger possessions, blinding him,
however, to his own proper interests, he
neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his
forces, reserved the choicest half for his own
personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo,
and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo.
He had with him Toobo Malohi and his 669
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669
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[411]

warriors. In the course of the following night, the enemy came down again, and made a desperate attack upon them: having resolved to burn the place to the ground, they had appointed four hundred men to effect their purpose, each of whom was armed with a spear, and a lighted torch fixed at about a foot from the point of it. At a signal every man threw his flaming weapon at the fencing, or into the garrison, and, by the aid of this new invention, the place was set fire to, in several points at once. The besieged, with the view of rendering themselves more secure, had removed all the draw-bridges over the dry ditch round the fencing, except one; there was no ready means of escape, therefore, from the conflagration, which soon spread far and wide, except by one narrow path: hundreds consequently were compelled to leap into the ditch, the sides of which were too steep to climb. Among these was Teoo Cava, who, with several other great chiefs and warriors, managed to get out, by climbing up the backs of those whose fidelity prompted them to lend their superiors this friendly assistance at the utmost peril of their own lives. Teoo Cava, having thus got out of the ditch, was making the best of his way unarmed to Hihifo, when he was met by a native of Fiji, belonging to the enemy's party, who

gave him the watch-word, which he was unable 669
to answer; instantly the Fiji warrior struck 726
him so violent a blow on the head with his club, that he buried it in his brains: the club had got so locked into the broken skull, that he could not immediately withdraw it; and he probably would have left it there, but discovering what a great chief he had killed, his club from that moment became exceedingly valuable to him; the pledge as it were of future great successes, as long as he kept it in his possession: the triumph of his feelings, therefore, prevented him from seeing or hearing another man, who was fast approaching; and whilst he was in the act of disengaging his club, his own brains were knocked out, and his speculations as suddenly destroyed, by one of Teoo Cava's men, whose swiftness of foot brought him just in time to revenge his fallen chief, by laying his enemy prostrate by his side: but dangers were thickening round him, and he was compelled to leave the body of Teoo Cava on the field, and secure his own existence by a speedy flight to Hihifo; where all who succeeded
in making their escape quickly arrived. The 669
body of Teoo Cava was soon found by the 727
enemy; it was conveyed to their fortress, cut [266]
to pieces, and (must it again be said!) dressed for food.

Among the garrison of Hihifo there was a

669 727 chief named Ata; he was not an old man, but he had a great reputation for political wisdom, and military skill. He was a native of the island, but at the time of the revolution his friends and acquaintance had all gone over to the Hapai islands for peace and safety. He however resolved to remain for the sake of his oldest and most sincere friend, Teoo Cava, and to assist and stand by him to the last; (for Ata was endowed also with some of the best qualities of the human heart). As Teoo Cava was now no more, Ata, conscious of his skill in war, and the confidence which all the men placed in him, proposed to take upon himself the command of the garrison; and his offers were 669 726 gladly accepted. The other garrisons of the island soon hearing of the death of Teoo Cava, and the great losses he had sustained, several of them entered into league against Hihifo, and shortly commenced a siege, which lasted fourteen days; but at length, quarrelling among themselves, and finding the besieged hold out so manfully, and withal being struck with awful astonishment, at the extraordinary bravery of Maccapapa*, who was said to be invincible by the immediate protection of the gods;—they raised the siege, and each party

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[727 [166 * It will be recollected that Maccapapa was formerly in the service of Toe Oomoo; but at the peace he left Vavaoo, apprehensive that Finow might play him some treachery.

repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, lest it should be taken possession of by some enemy. 669 726 During the siege, all the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so 768 afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is 762 said, strangled themselves†.

At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his 669 727

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* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, 728 mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza 643 Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is 727 not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Tonga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

669 brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai
727 islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and
728 harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to
643 settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

796 As soon as the king heard of their arrival at
Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-
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tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- [593]
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- [554]
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- [576]
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, ex-
pressive of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: " Here thou seest the 728
" men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
" thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
" rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
" from divine authority, but, being sorry for
" what they have done, they hope that thou
" wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-
" wards them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

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669 ing him, one close after another in the order of
727 their rank, their heads bowed down, and their
728 hands clasped before them, and, entering the
796 house on the side opposite the king, they seated
793 themselves before him and his matabooles, their
[824] hands still clasped together, and their heads
[788] bowed down almost to touch the ground. After
a little time, the priest, who sat between them
and the king, addressed the latter to the following purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi,
" and his chiefs and followers, who have been
" to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and
" are now come to humiliate themselves before
" you: not that they expect you will pardon
" them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they
" come to endeavour to convince you of their
" sorrow for so great and heinous a crime:
" they have no expectation but to die, there-
" fore your will be done*." After a short
pause, the priest again said, "pass your sen-
643 " tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired
669 among the people. In a little time, Finow
727 said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi,*"
728 Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of par-
796 don): of which command they took no notice,
[824] as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was
shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

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* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

" *he lo ifi*," upon which each took off his *ifi* 643
leaves, but they all remained in the same pos- 669
ture. Before we go further it must be ob- 727
served, that there were vacant places left 728
among Finow's chiefs and matabooles for 796
Toobó Malohi and his principal followers, who [824]
were of sufficient rank, to be called to after
they had received their pardon; but for a 669
great chief, circumstanced as was Toobó Ma- 727
lohi, to obey this summons (which is always 728
pronounced by the mataboole sitting next to 796
Finow) would neither be so respectful nor so 554
prudent as to remain where he was, and take 576
no notice of it, as if altogether unworthy of be- 643
ing so exalted; whilst a chief of less noble rank [644]
would not hesitate to obey the command, and take the seat appointed for him. All this is done upon the principle, that a great chief, so offending, ought to keep himself as humble as possible, lest, having great power and authority, he might be suspected of intentions to equalize himself with his superiors, and ultimately to revolt: whereas minor chiefs, having but little power, are not liable to excite jealousies: besides which, these minor chiefs, being governed by their superior, are thought to be less criminal than he who leads them astray by his authority. This formed a subject of dispute, beforehand, among the company:

669 some thought that Toohó Malohi would in-
727 stantly obey the order to take his appointed
728 seat, conscious of his exalted rank, and fearless
796 of the jealousy of Finow: the greater part,
554 however, were of opinion, that he would re-
576 main where he was, knowing well the revenge-
643 ful disposition of the *How*, and his prompti-
tude to sacrifice those whom he suspected.
In a little time this matter was put out of dis-
pute. The mataboole on Finow's right hand
exclaimed aloud, "Toobó Malohi! here is a
"place for you." The chief seemed not to
hear the summons, keeping his head bowed
down to the earth: the mataboole again said,
"Toobó Malohi! here is a place for you;"
but his ears were still shut, and he preserved
the same humble posture. The mataboole
then said to the others successively (mention-
ing their names in the order of their rank),
"here is a place for you;" and they accord-
ingly seated themselves as their names were
called over, in the places appointed for them
(i. e. those who were of sufficient rank to sit
in the circle, the others retiring among the
people), leaving Toobó Malohi seated by him-
self in the middle of the ring. Cava was now
[276] prepared, and served out to the company, each
in his turn, according to his rank, not except-
ing Toobó Malohi, who, in this case, was

served the fourth: when the cava was pre- 669
sented to him, he neither took it nor raised 727
up his head, but speaking to somebody who 728
sat a little behind him, that person stretched 796
his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, 554
took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, 576
to drink after the cava party should be dis- 276
solved. The company, having finished their 643
cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to
take his.

This chief and his followers remained at 643
Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to 203
the Hapai islands; during which time he en- 634
tertained Finow with an account of different transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies had been devised, what battles had been fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist, exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a "useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took 643
their departure, Finow repeated his orders to 668
Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, 634
and to give him the earliest information, if he discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he said he expected something of the kind, as they were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced at the Fiji islands.

CHAPTER XII.

000 Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Vouna—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.

593 SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers
634 had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's
758 younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lalángi*
[551] (which, in the Hamoa language, means de-
[778] scended from the sky), about six or seven years
[776] of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was
removed from her father's house to another
inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo,
755 the patron god of the *Hows.* Almost every
782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-
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sented before the house, as an offering to the 755
god, that he might spare her life for the sake 782
of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of 593
the matabooles, and sometimes two or three 634
in succession, made an address to the invoked [565]
divinity (for he had no priest), to the following purpose: "Here thou seest assembled Finow "and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles "of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), "thou seest them humbled "before thee. We pray thee not to be merciless, but spare the life of the woman[*] for "the sake of her father, who has always been "attentive to every religious ceremony[†]: but "if thy anger is justly excited by some crime "or misdemeanor committed by any other of "us who are here assembled, we entreat thee "to inflict on the guilty one the punishment "which he merits, and not to let go thy vengeance on one who was born but as yesterday. For our own parts, why do we wish to "live but for the sake of Finow; but if his "family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

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[*] On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*. [195]

[†] Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise. [171]

755 " cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 " merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 " and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
593 " ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
" is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
" *Moomóe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
" not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
" why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) " have regard
" for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i foo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter get-
782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
593 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
[787] [776] sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged

to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accus- 755
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the conse- 776
crated house where the sick child lay, but where- [484
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene- 778
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must 565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en- 634
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276
following effect; "Why do you weary your- 753]
"selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

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793 " gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the
755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her
634 hand and shed tears. During this time the matabooles
593 frequently repaired to the house of the
[753] priest, and laying cava before him, consulted
[565] him privately. On one of these occasions, Finow
[276] not being present, he told them that if they
knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If " my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all " my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have " any resentment against us, let the whole " weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear " not their vengeance,—but spare my child; " and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to " exert all your influence with the other gods, " that I alone may suffer all the punishment " they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his
634 spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride,
763 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on
his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, 634
a secret presentiment of approaching death, his 763
female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and mataboolcs, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to 634
the crowd, were not able to get into the house, 763
but overheard what passed, went immediately 761
to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting 793
him cava root, sat down before him. An old 787
mataboole then addressed him, stating that 776
they had firm belief in the power which the 784
gods possessed of inflicting what punishment 565

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634 they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the
763 god to use his influence with the other powers
761 of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at
what Finow had said in the morning, which
793 was merely spoken on the impulse of the mo-
787 ment, when warmly agitated with sentiments
776 of affection for his daughter, and not from any
784 real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him
[565] also to have regard to the general good of the
islands, and not by depriving them of Finow,
to involve the whole nation in anarchy and
[821] confusion. The priest remained some time in
silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him : for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation,
that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat 793
better, but did not communicate what 784
they had heard from his priest. This however 593 [276
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and 203]
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and protector,)
784 during his illness, coming to the *cook-house*
593 and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
793 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
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daughter also to be carried on board; then fol- 634
lowing himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Válloo*, 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
"structed you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would de-
rive benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

593 speechless. During the night her father, with
634 anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat,
763 watching, with sighs and tears, the progress
of her disorder. The next morning, which
brought no sign of returning health to enliven
the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave
directions to proceed to Macávë, the place at
Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect)
Booboonoo, *Cacahoo*, and several other great
warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By
the time they had got a little more than half
way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately
all the female attendants began to lament
in a most woful strain, beating their breasts
with violent agitation, and exhibiting every
mark of sorrow and despair;—but Finow sat in
silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of
593 his daughter. In a little time they reached the
634 coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large
764 house, called Böóno, (six posts,) on the *malái*
at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs,
matabooles, and attendants, all habited in mats.
The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful
Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a
mixture of oil and water: after which it was
anointed with sandal-wood oil.

593 It must be here noticed, that the king had
634 determined, in the event of his daughter's
764 death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga
766
177

fashion, but partly according to that, partly 593
agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly 634
according to a fancy of his own. After the 764
body was washed and anointed with oil, it was 766
wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine [177]
East India embroidered muslin, which had
formerly belonged to one of the officers of the
Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large
cedar chest, which had been made on board
the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out
of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over
the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made
for the purpose by her female attendants.
Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody [292
should wear mats, (although it was customary 301
on such solemn occasions,) but should dress 177
themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa]
custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their
necks, he ordered that they should wear
wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his
own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing.
The chest was placed on two large bales
of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the
body laid thus in state for the space of twenty
days; during which time Moobnga Toobó, Finow's
principal wife, and all her female attendants,
remained constantly with the body. In [533]
the course of the first night the mourners broke
out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

593 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
634 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
764 that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
766 lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
[533] this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain their grief, beating their breasts with every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally interpreted) an impious and revengeful endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those ceremonies not to be performed which were considered objects of religious duty on such sacred occasions. Every morning and evening provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment of those who attended on the body.
[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made for the express purpose, and nicely polished by one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
[563] custom). By this time the body had become much inflated, and extremely offensive; but the office of removing it was performed by some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

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[177] [171] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

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During the whole of this day, and the following night, the body inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened down, remained in the house: in the mean time Finow issued orders for a general assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to take place the ensuing morning before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness. 593 634 764 766 765

Early the following day all the people, according to Finow's orders, assembled before the house, where there was a large supply of provisions and cava for the conclusion of the ceremony. In the mean time the body was conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was deposited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance. 634 593 765 766 [764]

On this extraordinary occasion, which the caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions [526]

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apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa. [177] [171]

593 and cava were shared out, they began the en-
634 tertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual
765 at festivals. After the men had shown their
766 strength and dexterity in these feats by single
526 engagements, the king gave orders that all the
women who resided north of the *mooa* should
arrange themselves on one side, ready to com-
bat all the women who resided south of the
mooa, who were to arrange themselves on the
other. It was not a very rare occurrence for
women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoic-
ing; but a general engagement like this, with
about fifteen hundred women on each side, was
a thing altogether new, and beyond all pre-
cedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral cere-
[164] mony. The women, however, readily engaged,
and kept up the contest, with obstinate
bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of
ground being lost or gained on either side; nor
would the battle have subsided then, if Finow,
seeing the persevering courage of these he-
roines, had not ordered them to desist, the
battle having cost them several sprained ancles
and broken arms. They fought with a great
deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without
pulling one another's hair. The men now di-
vided themselves in like manner into two par-
ties, and began a general engagement, which
was persisted in a considerable time with much

fury, till at length that party which belonged 599
to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt 634
began to give way: instantly he rushed from 765
the house in which he was seated, to reanimate 766
his men by his presence and exertions, which 526
he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company
dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst 634
Finow retired to a small house, which had 763
been built since his daughter's death, near Böóno (the large house on the *malái*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

634 was almost denied to him; one word alone
763 could be clearly distinguished, *fonnooa* (land or
country): hence it was supposed that he meant
to express his anxiety respecting the mischiefs
and disturbances that might happen to the
634 country in the event of his death. After waiting
a little time, finding he did not get better,
763 the prince, and a young chief named Voogi,
755 went out to procure one of Finow's children
782 by a female attendant, to sacrifice it to the
783 gods, that their anger might be appeased, and
the health of its father restored*. They found
the child in a neighbouring house, unconsciously
sleeping in its mother's lap: they took
it away by force, and retiring with it behind an
adjacent Fytóca, strangled it, as quickly as possible,
with a band of *gnatoo:* they then carried
it, with all speed, before two consecrated
houses and a grave, at each place hurrying
over a short but appropriate prayer to the god
to interfere with the other gods in behalf of
Finow, and to accept of this sacrifice as an
634 atonement for his crimes. This being done,
763 they returned to the place where Finow lay,
but found him with scarcely any signs of life,

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* For further particulars respecting this ceremony, see p. 217. The younger Finow used often to express his regret that the gods were so relentless as to require such cruel sacrifices.

speechless and motionless;—his heart, however, 634
could be just felt to beat. In the mean 763
while he was placed on a sort of hand-barrow,
which had been made on purpose, during the [493]
time the child was strangled. Fancying there
were still some hopes of his recovery, his
friends carried him on this bier to different
consecrated houses, although he had, almost
beyond a doubt, breathed his last with violent
struggles, about ten minutes before. He was 634
first carried to the house dedicated to Táli-y- 763
Toobó, where an appropriate prayer to the god 782
was hurried over as quickly as possible: the corpse (for it was now perhaps nothing more, for there was no pulse at the wrist; and Mr. Mariner, applying his hand to the region of the heart, found it had ceased sensibly to beat) was conveyed to the house of the god *Toói-foo'a-Bolótoo*, where a similar prayer was preferred. Not contented with this, they next carried it to the grave of a female chief named Chinitacala, and her spirit was in like manner invoked. Some hope still remained; and his body was carried a mile and a half up the country, on the road towards Felletoa, to the residence of Tooitonga, their great divine chief, at Nioo Lolo. When arrived here, the body was conveyed to Tooitonga's cook-house, and placed over the hole in the ground where the fire is

634 lighted to dress victuals: this was thought to
763 be acceptable to the gods, as being a mark of
782 extreme humiliation, that the great chief of all
the Hapai islands, and Vavaoo, should be laid where the meanest class of mankind, the cooks, were accustomed to operate. All this time Tooitonga remained in his own house, for his high character, as a descendant of the gods, rendered it altogether unnecessary, and even degrading and improper, that he should interfere in this matter.

634 By this time, his friends losing all hopes,
and being convinced that he was really dead,
763 brought the body back to Neáfoo, where it
was placed in the large house on the *malái*,
634 called Böóno. In the mean while, many
668 chiefs and warriors secretly repaired to their
spears, (which were tied up in bundles,) and put them loose, ready to be seized at a moment's notice; and selecting out their clubs, arranged them, in order to be used on the urgency of occasion; expecting every moment the shout of war from one quarter or another: and if we just take a cursory view of the state of affairs, at this critical juncture, we shall find that such apprehensions were by no means groundless.

No sooner was the late How deceased, than all those principal chiefs who had, or imagined that they had some just claims to the government of Vavaoo, were expected to take up arms to assert their cause. Among these was Voona Lahi, otherwise Tooa Caláo; who, it may be recollected, returned from Hamoa with the late king's son (see p. 151), and was chief of Vavaoo at the period of the Tonga revolution; but was afterwards dispossessed of his island by the late How.—Toobo Toa was another chief who it was thought would lay claim on this occasion, on account of his great strength in fighting men, and for having killed the late chief of Vavaoo (Toobó Nuha). A third chief was Finow Fiji, the late How's brother, who perhaps had a greater claim than either of the two before mentioned, on account of his relationship; he was also a brave warrior, and considered to be a man of great prudence and wisdom: by some it was not supposed that he would lay any claim; for, although he was a brave warrior, when occasions called forth his courage, he was still a very peaceable man, remarkable for sage counsel, and for strong aversion against every kind of conspiracy or disturbance whatsoever. It was the prince and his party who entertained this high idea of his moderation; two other chiefs and their dependents thought otherwise of Finow Fiji, and expected he would prove a very

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668

634 powerful claimant*. Apprehensions were also
668 entertained respecting the young chief Voogi,
who assisted in strangling the child, for though
it was not supposed he would lay claim to the
sovereignty, yet being known to be strongly in
the interest of Toobo Toa, his conduct required
to be strictly watched. These were the chiefs,
whose behaviour at this moment the young
prince had to notice with a watchful eye. He
had considerable confidence, however, in the
sincerity of his uncle: Toobo Toa was at the Hapai islands:—Voona and Voogi therefore were
the two whose designs he had most immediately
to be apprehensive of.

Such was the state of political affairs at the
634 time of Finow's death. As soon as his body
763 was deposited on the bales of *gnatoo*, as before
152 mentioned, one of his daughters, a beautiful
593 girl of about fifteen, who stood by at the time,
went almost frantic with excess of sorrow. The
expressions of her grief were at first in loud and

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* Finow originally had two brothers, viz. Finow Fiji, and
Toobo Nuha, but by different mothers. Finow's lengthened
[553] name was Finow Ooloocalála. The proper family name is
Finow, but no member of the royal family is allowed to assume the family name till his appointment to the sovereignty,
unless his father choose to give it him as a sort of first name,
to which his own proper name is attached, as was the case
with Finow's brother, who was called Finow Fiji.

frequent screams, or in broken exclamations: 634
O yaooé! ecoo tammy' é! O yaooé! Alas!—Oh! 763
my father!—alas!—Her sorrow was so great 152
that, at times, she appeared quite bereft of reason; 593
and her truly pathetic expressions of it, joined to those of the widows, and female attendants of the late king, all beating their breasts, and screaming from time to time, rendered the house truly a house of mourning, beyond the power of the imagination to picture. The place was lighted up at night, by lamps [373]
with cocoa-nut oil, (used only on such occasions) presenting a scene, if possible, still more affecting than that which happened on the occasion of Toobó Nuha's death.

In the course of the night, Mr. Mariner went 634
into the house several times, partly out of curiosity 727
indeed, but principally moved by feelings of regret for the loss of his great and kind patron;—for though he could not in *every* point of view admire him as a man,—yet he could not but esteem him and reverence him as a benefactor: he had received from him great and numerous favours: and notwithstanding his faults, there was a something essential in his character which commanded respect; and Mr. Mariner felt that, in losing him, he had sustained a very great loss. The prince checked [562]
him in these frequent visits to the house; urg- [577]

634 ing, that as he was a man, he ought to feel as a
727 man, and not mingle his sorrows with those of
562 women; but if he wished to express his love
577 for Finow, who had adopted him as his son, and had given him the name of a son whom he had lost some years before*, he should demonstrate that love and respect for the memory of so good a father, by engaging his attentions in the interests of his family, particularly in those of himself, who was his lawful heir;—and not show his affliction by a silly profusion of tears and sighs, which was beneath the exalted character of a warrior.

About the middle of the night, no actual
634 disturbance had taken place, but some of the
668 prince's confidents, who were dispersed about to be on the watch, brought intelligence that *Voona* was holding secret conferences with some of the natives of Vavaoo. The prince, however, thought it advisable not to take any active measures, nor to appear to notice it: he therefore

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[551] * The name of this son was *Tógi Oócumméa*, (an iron axe) which was also the name of one of the gods of the sea: for
[776] as they only obtain iron axes from across the sea, they
[412] naturally attribute the advantages which they possess, in having
[177] such a useful intrument, to the bounty of a sea god, whom they have accordingly designated by this name. Finow's
[597] son, who was so called, was a great favourite of his father, who, when he adopted Mr. Mariner, gave him the same name, as a proof of his real esteem. Mr. M. always went by this name, or for shortness sake, *Tógi*.

merely ordered his spies to keep a strict eye 634
upon their proceedings, and to obtain all the 668
farther information they well could, without in-
curring suspicion. At the same time he re- [661]
solved in his own mind, as soon as the consent
of the people should establish his authority, to
banish all suspicious chiefs to the Hapai islands.
About an hour afterwards, he learnt that *Voogi*
the preceding day had ordered sundry parties of
his men to post themselves behind the bushes,
on each side the road to Nioo Lalo, during the
time that Finow's body was being carried there,
with orders to rush out and kill all who accom-
panied the body, in case a fit opportunity pre-
sented itself: but no such opportunity having
offered, his men had assembled armed along
with him, at a house near the water side, with
his canoe close at hand, and had been there all
the preceding part of the night. The prince
ordered that no notice should be taken of his
hostile position, but that all his own men should
keep themselves well armed, and in perfect rea-
diness to meet the enemy in case of a revolt:
he also dispatched men to watch as narrowly as
possible other chiefs, whom he began to think
might be connected with Voogi. During the
remainder of the night, no disturbance took
place. In the morning, as soon as it was light, 764
the people began to assemble on the *malái*, out

764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the
ground, waiting for the commencement of the
ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,
Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring
668 house, and presented it there to the priest of
787 *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who
799 was now become the tutelar deity of the young
[776] prince. By the mouth of his priest the god
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should
dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar
[784] care of the powers of Bolotoo? He commanded
[761] him moreover to reflect on the circumstances
of his father's death, as a salutary lesson
[763] to himself: "Your father," said the divinity,
"is now no more;—but why did he die?—because
"he was disrespectful to the gods!" The
634 conference here ended. A short time after,
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sitting
784 behind him in waiting, and who was much
respected by the late king and his family, on
account of her having given him some information
respecting a real or supposed conspiracy,
on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono,
Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence
at Macave, and afterwards put to death:
see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

that his father, just before he was taken ill, had 634
sent two men to her to procure a rope, (she 661
having the care of a store-house,) with orders 761
to bring it to him secretly. These two men, 784
whose names were Toohengi and Boboto, (the former the son of Toobo Boogoo a priest, the latter a cook,) happening now to be present, the prince turned to them, and asked if they knew the purpose for which his father wanted this rope;—whom he meant to bind with it?—Hearing this question, Mr. Mariner, who was sitting close to him, exclaimed "What! "did you not know that he intended to bind "and afterwards to kill Toobo Tea, the priest "of Toobo Totai, to be revenged on this god "for not bringing about his daughter's recovery*?" This fact was afterwards confirmed by other persons, and particularly by certain warriors, who had actually received orders to seize Toobo Tea, and murder him. Thus was a plan of sacrilegious wickedness brought to light, which made all those who now heard it for the first time shudder at the mere thought: "No wonder!" (for such was the general ex-

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* This intention of the king had only been cautiously whispered about, among a few chiefs and matabooles, that were constantly with him; and his sudden sickness and speedy death, which prevented him putting his threats into execution, had so occupied every body's thoughts, that the circumstance for a time was forgotten.

634 clamation) "no wonder that he died! a chief
661 "with such dreadful intentions!" Mr. Mariner
761 then stated, in addition, that he had heard the
784 king say more than once, (a few days before he died,) "How unmindful are the gods of my "welfare!—but no! it is not the decree of the "gods in general;—it is to that vexatious Toobo Totai, that I owe my misfortunes; he "does not exert himself for my good: but wait "a little, I'll be revenged! his priest shall not "live long[*]!"

634 The prince and his uncle, Finow Fiji, next
661 held a consultation together respecting their mode of conduct, particularly in regard to certain chiefs, who were suspected of not being well disposed towards their family. Finow Fiji, for his own part, said, that he had no other wish than to coincide in whatever should seem likely to establish the peace and welfare of *Hafooloo How* (the name given to Vavaoo and all its neighbouring small islands, taken collectively), and that the only method of doing this would

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[*] Finow had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods:—he thought that men were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mr. Mariner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their existence, when he acknowledged that he had more than once felt himself inspired by the spirit of *Moomóe* (a former *How* of Tonga): "True!" replied the king, "there may be gods; but what the priests tell us about their power over mankind, I believe to be all false."

be to send all those chiefs, who pretended to 634
have a right to the sovereignty, or who were 661
suspected of such pretensions, away to the Hapai islands. As to his nephew, he said, that there could not well arise any dispute to his right of succession (except on the part of ill disposed chiefs), inasmuch as he was the late king's heir, and was well beloved by the Vavaoo people, on account of his having been the adopted son of the late Toobó Nuha, and also because he was born at Vavaoo, and brought up there. The prince agreed with his uncle on the propriety of sending the pretenders to the Hapai islands, particularly Voona, who was of the line of those chiefs who governed Vavaoo before the revolt of Tonga; and also Voogi, who was at the head of a strong party of men, and was known to be in the interest of Toobó Tóa. The prince concluded by saying, "But let us wait "as quietly as possible, till the burial of my "father, and then we shall have a different "scene in the affairs of Vavaoo: when all promoters of civil discord are banished, the land "shall be cultivated, and shall appear again "flourishing; for we have had war enough!" To which every body present replied, "'Tis all "we wish for."

From the above sentiments of the two chiefs, 634
it will appear to be their intention to confine 651

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634 651 the new sovereignty to the island of Vavaoo, and its neighbouring isles, without receiving tribute (unless voluntarily paid, which was not at all likely to be the case,) from the Hapai islands, now in possession of Toobó Tóa, against whom the prince had no intention of waging a new war, and shedding more blood for the mere purpose of obliging him to continue that tribute as heretofore.

634 764 643 The conference being ended, the two chiefs turned their attention to the removal of the body of the late How to Félletóa to be buried, as there were no fytócas at Neáfoo but such as belonged to the family of Tooitonga; and it would have been contrary to custom to have buried an individual of the How's family in a grave belonging to that of Tooitonga.

CHAPTER XIII.

000 Ceremony of Finow's burial—Grief of his widows—Self inflictions of the mourners—Funeral procession to Felletoa—The policy of the prince—Description of the grave, and ceremony of interment—Ceremonies after burial—Respect paid by persons in passing the grave—The prince's intimation to Voona that he should exile himself—The prince receives authority as *How* at a cava party—His noble speech on this occasion—Farther exhortations to his chiefs and matabooles respecting the cultivation of the country—Half mourning commences—The ceremony of the twentieth day after burial—The dance called *Méë too Buggi*—Heroic behaviour of two boys at the grave—The late How's fishermen exhibit proofs of their affection for the deceased—Moral and political character of the late How—His personal character—A brief comparison between the characters of the late and present How.

All the chiefs and matabooles were now assembled 634
on the *malai* at Neafoo. Among the 764
rest was Voona, to whom the prince went up,
and intimated the necessity of removing the 634
body of his father to Félletóa. It would have 565
been thought very disrespectful if he had not [764]
mentioned this to Voona before he issued orders respecting it, because Voona was a very great chief, even greater than Finow himself, and such a reserve on such a public occasion, towards a superior, would have been an act offen-

634 sive to the gods. It may appear strange that
565 Voona was a greater chief than the son of the
king, yet it is a frequent occurrence, that the king is chosen from a family not of the highest rank, on account of his superior wisdom or military skill, and this was the case with the present royal family; so that the king is often obliged to pay a certain ceremonious respect (hereafter to be noticed) towards many other chiefs (even little children), who are greater nobles than he.

634 The company were now all seated, habited
in mats, waiting for the body of the deceased
764 king to be brought forth. The mourners (who
763 are always women, consisting of the female re-
[562] lations, widows, mistresses, and servants of the
deceased, and such other females of some rank, who choose, out of respect, to officiate on the occasion), were assembled in the house, and seated round the corpse, which still lay out on
[292] the bales of *gnatoo*. They were all habited in
large, old, ragged mats, the more ragged, the more fit for the occasion, as being more emblematical of a spirit broken down, or, as it were,
[304] torn to pieces by grief. Their appearance was
calculated to excite pity and sorrow in the heart of any one, whether accustomed or not to such a scene: their eyes were swollen with the last night's frequent flood of grief, and still

weeping genuine tears of regret; the upper 634
part of their cheeks perfectly black, and swollen 764
so that they could hardly see, with the constant 763
blows they had inflicted on themselves 304
with their fists; and their breasts, also, were equally bruised with their own misplaced and untimely rage.

Among the chiefs and matabooles who were 634
seated on the *malái*, all those who were particularly 764
attached to the late king, or to his cause, 763
evinced their sorrow by a conduct, usual, indeed, 304
among these people at the death of a relation, 565
or of a great chief (unless it be that of Tooitonga, or any of his family), but which, to us, may well appear barbarous in the extreme; that is to say, the custom of cutting and wounding themselves with clubs, stones, knives, or sharp shells: one at a time, or two or three together, would run into the middle of the circle, formed by the spectators, to give these proofs of their extreme sorrow for the death, and great respect for the memory of their departed friend.

The sentiments expressed by these victims of popular superstition were to the following purpose: "Finow! I know well your mind; "you have departed to Bolótoo*, and left your

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* Paradise.

634 "people under suspicion that I, or some of
764 "those about you, were unfaithful; but where
763 "is the proof of infidelity? where is a single
304 "instance of disrespect?" Then, inflicting
565 violent blows, and deep cuts in the head with a club, stone, or knife, would again exclaim, at intervals, "Is this not a proof of my fidelity? "does this not evince loyalty and attachment "to the memory of the departed warrior?" Then, perhaps, two or three would run up, and endeavour to seize the same club, saying, with a furious tone of voice, "Behold! the land is "torn with strife! it is smitten to pieces! it is "split by revolts! how my blood boils! let us "haste and die! I no longer wish to live! your "death, Finow, shall be mine! but why did I "wish hitherto to live, it was for you alone! "it was in your service and defence, only, that "I wished to breathe! but now, alas, the "country is ruined! Peace and happiness are "at an end! your death has insured ours! "henceforth war and destruction alone can "prosper." These speeches were accompanied with a wild and frantic agitation of the body, whilst the parties cut and bruised their heads every two or three words, with the knife or club they held in their hands.

Others somewhat more calm and moderate in their grief, would parade up and down with

rather a wild and agitated step, spinning and 634
whirling the club about, striking themselves 764
with the edge of it two or three times violently 763
upon the top or back of the head*, and then, 304
suddenly stopping, and looking stedfastly at 565
the instrument, spattered with blood, exclaim, "Alas! my club, who could have said that you "would have done this kind office for me, and "have enabled me thus to evince a testimony of "my respect for Finow! Never, no, never, can "you again tear open the brains of his enemies! Alas! what a great and mighty warrior "has fallen! Oh! Finow, cease to suspect my "loyalty; be convinced of my fidelity! But "what absurdity am I talking! if I had appeared treacherous in your sight, I should "have met the fate of those numerous warriors "who have fallen victims to your just revenge: "but do not think, Finow, that I reproach "you; no! I wish only to convince you of my "innocence, for who, that has thoughts of "harming his chiefs, shall grow white-headed "like me? (an expression made use of by "some of the old men). O cruel gods! to deprive us of our father, of our only hope, for "whom alone we wished to live! We have, indeed, other chiefs, but they are only chiefs

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* They understand tolerably well how to avoid the situation of the larger arteries.

634 "in rank, and not like you, alas! great and
764 "mighty in war!"
763 Such were their sentiments and conduct on
304 this mournful occasion. Some, more violent
565 than others, cut their heads to the skull with
such strong and frequent blows, that they
caused themselves to reel, producing after-
634 wards a temporary loss of reason. It is diffi-
764 cult to say to what length this extravagance
would have been carried, particularly by one
763 old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr.
727 Mariner to go up and take away the club from
304 him, as well as two others that were engaged
[609] at the same time. It is customary on such oc-
casions, when a man takes a club from another,
to use it himself in the same way about his own
head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was
not expected to do this; he therefore went up,
and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured
the clubs, one after another, and returned with
them to his seat, when, after a while, they
were taken by others who used them in like
manner.

After these savage expressions of sorrow had
634 been continued for nearly three hours, the
764 prince, having first signified his intentions to
Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders
that the body of his father should be taken to
[411] Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

of *gnatoo* was put on a kind of hurdle, and the 634
body laid on the bale: the prince then ordered 764
that, as his father was the first who introduced [411]
guns in the wars of Tonga, the two carronades
should be loaded and fired twice* before the
procession set out, and twice after it had passed
out of the *malái*; he gave directions also that
the body of Finow's daughter, lately deceased,
should be taken out of the *fytoca*, in the model
of a canoe, and carried after the corpse of her
father; that during his life as he wished always to
have her body in his neighbourhood, she might
now at length be buried with him. Matters [411
being thus arranged, Mr. Mariner loaded the 127]
guns, and fired four times with blank cartridge.
The procession then went forward; the wives
of the deceased and women attendants proceeded
first in silent sorrow, next followed the
body of Finow, the body of his daughter, the
matabooles, and lastly the young prince and his
retinue. When the procession had got out of
the fortress, (the *malái*, of which we are speak- [411
ing, being in the middle of the fortress of 127]
Neafoo) and had passed the place where the

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* It should be mentioned that the young prince had now in his possession only two carronades, the other two being at the Hapai islands with Toobo Toa. But then Toobo Toa had only half a barrel of gunpowder, and no iron shot, whereas the prince had seven or eight barrels, and a considerable number of balls.

634 guns were drawn up, Mr. Mariner fired two
764 more rounds, then loaded them with canister
411 shot, lighted a match, to be in readiness in
727 case of need, and ordered the guns to follow
the procession, whilst he went last to see that
634 they were properly drawn. It was not the
prince's intention to order another salute, but
764 he had previously told Mr. Mariner to load
411 them again, not with blank cartridge but with
661 shot, and to carry a lighted match in his hand,
for, "perhaps," said he, "we may have need
"of it." This, it may be easily seen, was a
measure of policy; he ordered them to be fired
that he might have a plea for carrying them in
the procession along with him, and he ordered
them to be loaded a third time, as if they were
to be in readiness for another salute at the
grave, but in fact for his own safeguard, lest
certain chiefs should take the opportunity to
revolt.

In the course of two hours they arrived at
634 Felletoa, where the body was laid in a house
764 on the *malái* at some distance from the grave,
349 till another and smaller house could be brought
close to it*; and this was done in the course

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* The body is always placed in a house in front of the *fytoca* during the time the grave is digging: if there be no house near, a small one is immediately brought for the purpose, which, from the construction of their houses, is readily done by the aid of 50 or 60 men.

of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, 634
the four pieces which compose the building (a 764
kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves [349]
reaching within *four feet of the ground*) were
brought by a sufficient number of men, and put
together at the place where it was wanted.
This being done, the body was brought on the [493]
same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly
erected building, (if it may be so termed) and
then being taken off the hurdle it was laid
within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was
hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from
the eaves to the ground *. The women, who [767]
were now all assembled and seated round the
body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar
to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number
of people, whose business it was to prepare
graves, were digging the place of interment
within the *fytoca*, under the direction of *Lanagi*,
a mataboole whose office was to superintend
such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they
came to the large stone vault, such as was described in the note p. 144; a rope being then

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* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, [287]
having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not
chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of rejoicing.

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2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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634 764 fastened double round one end of the stone, which always remains a little raised for this purpose by means of certain bodies placed underneath; it was elevated by the main strength of 150 or 200 men, pulling at the two ends of the rope, towards the opposite edge of the grave, till it was brought up on end. The body, being oiled with sandal-wood oil and then wrapped in *Hamoa* mats, was handed down on a large bale of *gnatoo* into the grave; the bale of *gnatoo* was then, as is customary, taken by the before-mentioned mataboole as his perquisite. Next, the body of his daughter, in the model of a canoe, was let down in like manner and placed by his side *. The great stone was then lowered down with a loud shout. Immediately certain matabooles and warriors ran like men frantic round and about the *fytoca*, exclaiming, "Alas! how great is "our loss! Finow! you are departed; witness

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* This grave, which was considered a large one, is capacious enough to hold thirty bodies. Two bodies which Mr. Mariner saw there, and which were in a very dry but perfect state, had been buried, as he was told by old men, when *they* were boys, and consequently must have been there upwards of forty years; while several others, of which nothing remained but the bones, had not been buried so long: this circumstance the natives suppose to be owing to different kinds of constitution, though, in all probability, to the kind or duration of disease of which they died.

“ this proof of our love and loyalty!” At the 634
same time they cut and bruised their own 764
heads with clubs, knives, axes, &c. [304]

The whole company now formed themselves into a single line, the women first and afterwards the men, but without any particular order as to rank, and proceeded towards Lico (or the back of the island, as they term it, because there is no opening for large canoes), for the purpose (as customary) of getting a quantity of sand in small baskets, for the use directly to be described. The guns were not 634
however taken in the procession, as the young 764
prince considered the measure now unnecessary, 668
every thing appearing perfectly quiet, for 661
if any party had intended to revolt, they would have done it on their way from Neafoo to the grave, whilst they had clubs and spears in their possession, and not during the ceremony of burial, before which every man, according to custom, deposits his arms in the neighbouring houses. It is true they might afterwards have taken up their arms again and planned mischief, but the prince, who had always his spies about, neither perceiving nor hearing of any symptoms of disturbance, did not wish to seem fearful of revolt, which would have been the case had he taken the guns with him to the back of the island, and which he could not

634 have done with any plausible pretence, such as
764 he had for bringing them to Felletoa.

[668] In their road to the back of the island they
[661] sang loudly the whole way, as a signal to all
who might be in the road or adjacent fields to
634 hide themselves as quickly as possible, for it is
764 sacrilegious for any body to be seen abroad by
688 the procession during this part of the ceremony ; and if any man had unfortunately made
[533] his appearance, he would undoubtedly have
been pursued by one of the party, and soon
dispatched with the club. So strictly is this
attended to, that nobody in Mr. Mariner's
time recollected a breach of a law so well
known. Even if a common man were to be
buried, and Finow himself were to be upon the
road, or in the neighbourhood of the procession, whilst going to get sand at the back of
the island, he would immediately hide himself;
not that they would knock out the king's brains
on such an occasion, but it would be thought
sacrilegious and unlucky, the gods of Bolotoo
being supposed to be present at the time.
[565] The chiefs are particularly careful not to infringe upon sacred laws, lest they should set an
634 example of disobedience to the people. The
764 song on this occasion, which is very short, is
533 sung first by the men, and then by the women,
and so on alternately, and intimates (though

Mr. Mariner has forgotten the exact words) 634
that the *fala* (which is the name of this part of 764
the ceremony) is coming, and that every body [533]
must get out of the way.

When they arrived at the back of the island, [285]
where any body may be present to see them, [482]
and, on this occasion, it was at the part called Mofooé, every one proceeded to make a small basket of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, holding about two quarts, and to fill it with sand: this being done, each of the men carried two upon a stick across the shoulder, one at each end—while the women only carried one, pressed, in general, against the left hip, or rather upon it, by the hand of the same side, and supported by the hand of the opposite side, brought backwards across the loins, which they consider the easiest mode for women to carry small burdens [*]; they then proceeded back the same way, and with the same ceremony, to the grave. By this time the grave above the vault was nearly filled with the earth lately dug out, the remaining small space being left to be filled up by the sand, which is always more than enough for this purpose, that the mount,

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[*] This mode, which the women use, is called *fafa*; that which the men use, as just described, *amo*; carrying in the hand by the side, *taggi-taggi*;—whilst the general term for any mode of carrying is *fooa*.

634 764 of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in like manner, it being considered a great embellishment to a grave to have it thus covered, and is thought to appear very well from a distance, where the clean sand may be seen on the outside of the *fytoca;* besides which, it is the custom, and nobody can explain the reason why,—which is the case with several of their customs. This being done, the temporary house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth was originally dug to raise the mount on which the *fytoca* stands[*]: in this hole also are thrown all the baskets in which the sand was brought, as well as the remaining quantity of earth not used in filling up the grave. The ground within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats, similar to what are commonly used in the houses, and which are made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. 634 765 287 301 302 304 824 During the whole of this time the company was seated on the green before the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their necks strung with the leaves of the *ifi* tree: after this they arose and went to their respective habitations, where they shaved their heads, and burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

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[*] Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a term given merely to the mount and the grave within it; they have several *fytocas* which have no houses on them.

tápa [*], by applying it once upon each cheek 634
bone; after which, the place was rubbed with 765
the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which oc- [287]
casions it to bleed, and with the blood they [301]
smeared about the wound, in a circular form, [302]
to nearly two inches in diameter, giving them- [304]
selves a very unseemly appearance [†]. They re- [824]
peat this friction with the berry every day,
making the wound bleed afresh: and the men,
in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil
themselves during the day; they do, however,
at night, for the comfort which this operation
affords. After having, in the first place, burnt
their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built
for themselves small temporary huts, for their
own accommodation during the time of mourn-
ing, which lasts twenty days. The women, who [784]
have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body,
remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when
they want food, for which they retire to one or
other of these temporary houses, to be fed as
mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

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[*] *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

[†] Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

634 the *fytoca*. The provisions with which these
765 *tabooed* women and mourners in general are pro-
784 vided were sent, on this occasion, with bales of
gnatoo, first to the young prince, by the differ-
634 ent chiefs and matabooles; the prince then or-
765 dered the greater part of them to be sent to
784 the *tabooed* women: and they were accordingly
264 carried and placed on the ground, at some distance from the grave, or else laid down before the temporary house, to which the chief of the *tabooed* women retires to be fed; and she orders them to be distributed to the different chiefs and matabooles, who again share them out in the usual way. The fifth and tenth days of such a ceremony are, however, marked by a greater quantity of provision than ordinary being sent, for which they give no reason but that of custom. On the twentieth day there is also an unusually large quantity sent; and this is by way of finishing the funeral ceremony.
634 With these provisions they also send every day
765 a supply of *tomes**, to light up the *fytoca* during
[416] the night: these tomes are held by a woman,
[565] who, when fatigued with this office, is relieved
by another: those who take the light into their
[373] charge are of the lower ranks. They, as well as the others, when not oppressed by sleep, in general, spend their time in talking upon in-

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* The tome is a sort of torch.

different subjects. During these twenty days 634
also, if any one pass the *fytoca*, he must not 765
proceed in his ordinary careless way, swinging
his arms, but with a slow pace, his head bowed 634
down, and his hands clapsed before him, if he 765
have no burden; and if he have, he must lower 482
it, (from his shoulder for instance,) and carry it [481]
in his hands, or upon his bended arms:—but if he can conveniently do it, he will go a circuitous route, to avoid the grave. Here it may be observed, that, on all occasions, when a man with a burden passes a great chief, or the grave of a great chief, particularly if there be any one near to see him, he lowers his burden out of
respect. Every day also, one or more approach, 634
and sit before the grave for two or three hours, 765
beating their faces with their fists; sometimes they bruise their heads with clubs, in which case they stand up*. These are the uniform and essential circumstances which always take place during this part of the ceremony of burying chiefs,—we now come to speak of those which were peculiar to this particular instance.

On the day after the deceased How was put 634
661

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* Finow's chief widow, *Móoonga Toobó*, every morning, 765
attended by her women, cut the grass short before the grave with knives and sharp shells, sweeping away leaves and loose blades with brooms made of the mid rib of the cocoa-nut leaf: they also procured sweet-scented plants, principally the *jidle*, and planted them before the grave.

634 in the ground, the principal chiefs and mata-
661 booles requested the prince to intimate to Voona
765 and certain other chiefs, their wish that they should go to the Hapai islands: this he did; but, at the same time, gave them liberty to stop till the funeral ceremony was concluded. Voona received this intimation in a becoming manner, acknowledging the impropriety of his stay, if the people were any way jealous of his presence. The prince apologized for this step, urging the will of his people as his sole motive; and expressed, with great warmth, his wish that he who had been so long his friend and companion could still remain his associate.

765 The following day, at a general assembly of
634 the chiefs and matabooles, after the cava was
276 prepared, and the two first cups handed out,
576 the third, which, according to custom, is pre-
[553] sented to the chief who presides, was next filled; and when an attendant, as usual, declared aloud that the cup was filled, all eyes were fixed on the prince, whilst the mataboole who sat next to him exclaimed, "Give it to Finow!"—and it was accordingly handed to him, whilst he preserved an appearance of perfect unconcern at the name by which, for the
[156] first time, he was called*. And this was a matter of no small importance; for had he ap-

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* See note, p. 370.

peared elated at this circumstance, he would 634
have been thought a man of a weak mind, little 276
calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the 576
character of such a personage should be, in 765
their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of [156]
superiority over the influence of petty passions,
and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the
vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the
cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed
the company to the following purport.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If 634
"any among you are discontented with the 537
"present state of affairs,—now is the time to go 829
"to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo 765
"with a mind discontented and wandering to
"other places. I have seen with sorrow the
"wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing
"war carried on by the chief now lying in the
"*malái:* we have indeed been doing a great
"deal, but what is the result?—the land is depopulated! it is overgrown with weeds, and
"there is nobody to cultivate it: had we remained peaceful, it would have been populous
"still: the principal chiefs and warriors are
"fallen, and we must be contented with the
"society of the lower class. What madness!
"is not life already too short? Is it not a noble
"characteristic in a man to remain happy and
"peaceful in his station? What folly then to

634 “ seek for war to shorten that which is already
537 “ *too* short! Who is there among us who can
829 “ say, ‘ I wish to die—I am weary of life?’
765 “ Have we not then been acting like those of no
“ understanding? Have we not been madly
“ seizing the very thing which deprives us of
“ what we *really want?* Not that we ought to
“ banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power
“ approach us with the front of battle, and attempt
“ to invade our rights, our fury and
“ bravery shall be excited more, in proportion
“ as we have more possessions to defend. Let
“ us therefore confine ourselves to agriculture,
“ for that is truly guarding our country. Why
“ should we be anxious for an increase of territory?
“ Our land is quite large enough to
“ supply us with food,—we shall not even be
“ able to devour all its produce! But perhaps I
“ am not speaking to you wisely! the old matabooles
“ are present; I beg them to tell me if
“ I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and, on
“ that account, should be unfit to govern, if my
“ mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought
“ not the advice of others: for your loyalty and
“ fidelity towards him, however, I return you
“ my sincere thinks. Finow Fiji, who is present,
“ and the matabooles, know well my frequent
“ inquiries concerning the good of our
“ government: do not then say, *wherefore do*

"*we listen to the idle talk of a boy?* Recollect, 634
"whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo 537
"of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Oooloo- 829
"valoo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all 765
"the high chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo.—
"Listen to me! I remind you that if there be
"any among you discontented with this state
"of affairs, the present is the only opportunity
"I will give to depart: for let pass this occa-
"sion, and not at all shall we communicate
"with Hapai. Choose therefore your dwelling-
"places; there is Fiji, there is Hamoa, there is
"Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona and
"Lotooma!—Those men in particular having
"minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant
"peace,—they alone shall remain at Vavaoo
"and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not
"suppress the bravery of any one warlike spi-
"rit:—Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji
"are constantly at war; let him there display
"his courage. Arise! go to your respective ha-
"bitations; and recollect, that to-morrow the
"canoes depart for Hapai*."

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* For the original of this fine speech, and a literal transla- [128]
tion, see the latter part of the grammar. Mr. Mariner had in
a manner learnt it off by heart, for it was so universally ad-
mired that it was in every body's mouth for a long time
after. The above version will be found somewhat different
from the one in the first edition, and the reason is I did not
at that time feel so well the force and strength of the Tonga
idiom.

765 Finow, having finished his speech, arose and
634 went to his house, accompanied by the sons of
[537] his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with
765 his warriors, formed his retinue. After a repast,
634 provided beforehand*, he again made an
829 address, but in a more familiar and conversational
537 way, on the advantages of cultivating
241 land for one's own food, and eating the produce
[514] of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument,
he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga, it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

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[276] * They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

"men feel when they view the work of their 765
"own hands thriving daily: and, whilst eating, 634
"when they reflect that their labour has been 829
"repaid by the increase of their stores: there- 537
"fore let us (chiefs and attendants of chiefs) 241
"apply ourselves, as we have nothing else to
"do, to agriculture: follow my example; I
"will order a piece of ground to be cleared,
"and, during the next rain, I will assist in
"planting it with *hiabo*."

No other circumstances worthy of note hap- 765
pened during the twenty days concluding the 634
burial ceremony. On the tenth day, those who [292]
were not relations of the deceased, nor constituted his household, wore a sort of half mourning; that is to say, under their mats they wore a piece of *gnatoo*, not to be seen, but merely to be more comfortable to the skin than the mats, which, on these occasions, are not of the finest
texture. After the twentieth day they wore [291]
their ordinary dress, and went to their proper
habitations; so did also the relations of the de- [292]
ceased, but then these wore mats for about two months afterwards, though with *gnatoo* under them.

We now come to speak of the transactions of the twentieth day, which concludes the whole ceremony.

Early in the morning of this day, all the rela-

765 tions of the deceased chief, together with those
634 who formed his household, and also the women
who were *tabooed* by having touched his dead body, whilst oiling and preparing it, went to the back of the island (without any particular order or ceremony) to procure a number of flat pebbles, principally white, but a few black, for which they made baskets on the spot to carry them in as before mentioned, when they went to procure sand. With these they returned to the grave, and strewed the inside of the house with the white ones, and also the outside about the *fytoca*, as a decoration to it: the black pebbles they strewed only upon those white ones, which covered the ground directly over the body, to about the length and breadth of a man, in the form of a very eccentric ellip-
[417] sis. After this, the house over the *fytoca* was closed up at both ends with a reed fencing, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and, at the front and back, with a sort of basket-work, made of the young branches of the cocoa-nut tree, split and interwoven in a very curious and ornamental way, to remain till the next burial, when they are to be taken down, and, after the conclusion of the ceremony, new ones are to be
[574] put up in like manner. A large quantity of provisions was now sent to the *malái* by the
[276] chiefs of the different districts of the island,

ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable 765
quantity prepared by Finow's own household: 634
among these provisions was a good supply 574
of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and
others, were all assembled, the provisions and 276
cava were served out in the usual way. During 765
this time no speech was made, nor did any particular
occurrence take place. The company 634
afterwards repaired each to his respective house, [537]
and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and [526]
entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi [535]
(literally, the dance, standing up with paddles.
See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several 765
matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the 634
grave, bruising and cutting their heads with 304
clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

765 "you? my wish is, that the gods of Bolotoo
634 "permit me to live long enough to prove my
304 "fidelity to your son:" he then again raised his club, and, running about, bruised and cut his little head in so many places, that he was covered with streams of blood. This demonstration on the part of the young hero was thought very highly of by every one present, though, according to custom, nothing at that time was said in his praise; agreeably to their maxim, that praise raises a man's opinions of his own merit too high, and fills him with self-conceit. The late How's fishermen now advanced forward, to shew their love for their deceased master in the usual way; though, instead of a club or axe, each bore the paddle of a canoe, with which he beat and bruised his head at intervals, making similar exclamations to those so often related. In one respect, however, they were somewhat singular; that is, in having three arrows stuck through each cheek, in a slanting direction, so that, while their points came quite through the cheek into the mouth, the other ends went over their shoulders, and were kept in that situation by another arrow, the point of which was tied to the ends of the arrows passing over one shoulder, and the other end to those of the arrows passing over the other shoulder, so as to

form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment 765
they walked round the grave, beating 634
their faces and heads, as before stated, with the
paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, [304]
and sticking a spear quite through; all this, to prove their love and affection for the deceased chief.

After these exhibitions of cruelty were over, [526]
this day's ceremony (which altogether lasted about six hours) was finished by a grand wrestling-match, which being ended, every one retired to his respective house or occupation; and thus terminated the ceremony of burying the king of the Tonga islands.

Finow's character, as a politician, at least in 634
point of ambition and design, may vie with
that of any member of more civilized society; 157
he wanted only education and a larger field of action, to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes every thing within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavour to obtain more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs, and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His

634 His A ever restless and ambitious spirit would fre-
157 quently vent itself in such expressions as the
829 following: "Oh, that the gods would make
"me king of England! there is not an island
"in the whole world, however small, but what
"I would then subject to my power: the king
"of England does not deserve the dominion
"he enjoys; possessed of so many great ships,
"why does he suffer such petty islands as those
"of Tonga continually to insult his people
"with acts of treachery? Were I he, would I
"send tamely to *ask* for yams and pigs? No, I
"would come with the *front of battle**; and
"with the *thunder of Bolotane*† I would shew
"who ought to be chief. None but men of
"enterprising spirit should be in possession of
"guns; let such rule the earth, and be those
"their vassals who can bear to submit to such
"insults unrevenged!" With such sentiments
as these would he now and then break forth in
presence of Mr. Mariner, after conversing on
634 the power of the king of England. Hence his
157 character, as to ambition, is drawn by himself
[669] with bold and decided lines. As to intrigue

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* *Mooa tow*, which literally means the front or fore-part of battle, is a very usual expression among them.

[192] † The expression they use for the noise of guns; the word Britain they cannot pronounce in any other way than Bolotáne.

A [Finow's--Analyst]

and design, the reader may refer to the history 634
of his conduct in the revolution of Tonga, (p. 157
71) where he suffered Toobó Nuha's revenge 669
to be the tool of his ambition, pretending to have no strong wish for the death of Toogoo Ahoo; hence Toobó Nuha took upon himself the charge of assassination, whilst Finow remained on the outside of the house with his men waiting the result: thus he did not draw upon himself the odium of any one, as an actual murderer of Toogoo Ahoo; all which fell upon the shoulders of Toobó Nuha, equally as great and brave, but a more honest and a worthier man. For a more striking instance, look to his deep design in the history of the assassination of his brother Toobó Nuha, who had been his own ally, and was then his most faithful servant (see p. 132); here again he made use of another man's revenge to effect his purpose; and mark the admirable caution with which he steps in this affair throughout. He acknowledges that he promised Toobó Toa his assistance, but then states, as his reason, that he did it with the view of putting off Toobó Toa's intention for a time, under the false pretence, he says, that it was not yet a fit opportunity; but in reality, *as he tells the Vavaoo people*, that he might find an occasion to prevent the mischief altogether! But who can

634 doubt, after having observed closely the
157 features of that transaction, but that Finow
669 meant to bring about the murder of Toobó
Nuha that very night, else why did he tell Mr.
Mariner not to bring his whaling knife with
him? was it not that he wished to be unarmed,
that he might not have an opportunity of de-
fending Toobó Nuha? Again, he did not, be-
fore he set out from his house, send for Toobó
Nuha to accompany him, but when he had got
half way on his road he stopped to bathe, and
in the mean while, as if it were a second and a
casual thought, he sent for his victim to ac-
company him to the old chief's house, where
they remained above two hours. Toobó Tóa
was not present, and Toobó Tóa's men were
getting ready a canoe for him to escape, in case
he were unsuccessful. When the first blow was
given, Finow could not defend Toobó Nuha,
because he was *purposely* unarmed, and because
Toobó Tóa's men held him, which they would
not have dared to have done had they not been
so ordered by their chief. Need any more be
634 said to shew his policy?—Once more notice
157 him, when he wishes to make a peace with the
669 Vavaoo people, after he had kept up for some
728 time a fruitless contest (p. 220). To have ex-
pressed this wish might have weakened him in
the opinion of his enemies; what does he in

this case?—he takes frequent opportunity to 634
converse with the priests: he does not tell 157
them that he wishes for peace, but he observes 669
that peace would be much more advantageous 728
for his subjects; lamenting, at the same time,
that the disobedience of the Vavaoo people
obliges him to have recourse to warlike measures:
the minds of the priests, however, becoming
strongly impressed with the advantages
of peace, when inspired they advise him
to make a peace; he, pretending to do as the
gods admonish him, yields to the solicitation,
and permits his priests to make overtures, as if
this step was originally designed by them, or
rather by the gods, and that he consented
merely because it was a point of religious duty
to do so. Thus we find him an admirable politician, 634
although the picture is occasionally 157
marked with traits which do no honour to his
character as a man. Farther instances of this 634
kind may be noticed, such as his cruelty towards 157
his conquered enemies, by starving his 727
prisoners to death in the shocking manner related
p. 78, for which he could have no excuse,
unless to deter others from rebellion. As to 634
his seizing several of the Vavaoo chiefs at a 157
cava ring (p. 276), and ordering them to be 661
killed, it may perhaps be that they were meditating
an insurrection, as he was informed;

634 157 [66] hence such strong measures became almost necessary in a state of society like that[*]. But it would be rather severe to consider cruelty so great a crime among these people as it would be among us: the evil to society may be perhaps quite as great, but the demerit certainly falls not so heavy upon the perpetrator, nor does the victim, in all probability, feel it so much. To return to the subject, Finow was by no means destitute of the spark of humanity: it was remarkable in him that, although he was rather arbitrary, he hated to see oppression in others, and would frequently take the part of the oppressed, against those who were punishing them harshly; and this Mr. Mariner is confident did not arise from caprice, nor from pride, as willing to make himself the only person to be feared, but from far better motives. [72] As a proof of his sentiments in this respect, the following anecdote is worthy of notice: When Mr. Mariner was first able to explain himself in their language, young chiefs and warriors would frequently flock about him, (particularly

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[*] It is very far from my wish to extenuate Finow's conduct; on the other hand, I should be sorry to represent him a worse man than he really was. His character no doubt was a very extraordinary one, and I have endeavoured to weigh duly and without prejudice every circumstance that might tend to throw a light upon it.

those who were active in taking the Port au 634
Prince,) and question him upon the use of va- 157
rious things they had seen on board that vessel, 727
and then they would describe the difficulty they had in killing some of the men, mentioning, at the same time, who killed such a one and who killed another, and expressed, by their actions, how much such a man was convulsed when he died, and how deeply he groaned. Whilst talking upon such subjects, Finow passing that way, and overhearing the discourse, would command them not to talk upon a matter which must be so disagreeable to Mr. Mariner's feelings; that the fate of his companions was too serious a subject to be thus slightly spoken of: to which some of the chiefs replied, "but he "does not make that a subject of considera- "tion, for none of them were his relations."— "Though none perhaps were his relations," rejoined Finow, "they were nevertheless his "countrymen." Remarks like these, if not made out of pride, or from a spirit of contradiction, (and Mr. Mariner firmly believes they were not,) may very well serve to convince us that Finow's mind was by no means destitute of humanity; and though he was at times cruelly severe with his prisoners, in putting them to death by ways not the least painful, still this was perhaps on all occasions, to a cer-

634 tain degree, justifiable, as examples to keep
157 others in terror: a method undoubtedly not
727 the best, but such as may be easily overlooked
in a state of society like that in which he
[685] lived *. As another example to throw into the

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634 * Finow was not considered wantonly cruel, like Toogoo
Ahoo: his severe sentences were thought necessary, by
157 others as well as himself, to place his new authority as king
727 upon a secure foundation. It is Mr. Mariner's opinion, in
the impartiality of which I have reason to place the utmost
661 confidence, that had Finow been less watchful, bold, decided, and severe, Toobó Toa would soon have shortened his reign; or, if *he* had not, Voona would probably have dethroned him, on his return from Hamoa, in revenge for his former loss of Vavaoo: but his conduct was so unsearchable, his discovery of conspiracies was in a manner so instinctive, and his revenge so prompt, bold, and decisive, that the people looked up to him with extraordinary admiration, and pronounced him to be truly a great chief, worthy to be a king. The most judicious of the natives, while they considered his conduct as severe, declared it to be dictated by true policy. If therefore his severity, instead of being considered either criminal or cruel by his own people, was on the contrary thought worthy of admiration as becoming a great, politic, and wise chief *so circumstanced*, I think I am warranted in saying that it "was perhaps on all occasions
[771] to a certain degree justifiable." Finow, beyond all doubt, was greatly to be condemned, but not for his cruel severity: it was his disrespect for the gods that constituted his great crime,—a crime of such a magnitude that his people were astonished to see the gods favour his enterprizes. It is exceedingly difficult to judge of such a character without entering fully into the Tonga sentiments and habits. These remarks are made in consequence of some observations on the above passage in the Quarterly Review, No. 33, p. 25.

scale in favour of Finow's humanity and discriminative 634
justice, we may quote the instance of 157
pardon granted to the two boys of the Port au 727
Prince, who, notwithstanding they were guilty
of theft and sacrilege, were excused on account [685]
of their supposed ignorance of the extent of
their crime; whilst a native would have been
executed upon the spot. (See p. 163.) His
conduct towards Mr. Mariner must also be noticed
at the time when the Hope, Captain
Chace, arrived at Vavaoo. (See p. 303.) It 634
should here moreover be observed, that Finow's 157
temper was uncommonly irritable; when once
excited into anger, his rage was terrible: this
he acknowledged himself, and would frequently
say that his quick temper was the infliction
sent him from Bolotoo*: and in some measure
to obviate its ill effects, he frequently charged
his matabooles to hold him whenever they saw
him getting violently angry! This they always
did, and in about ten minutes or a quarter of

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* They believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, [776]
either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the [828]
gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the delight they take in punishing mankind: this last opinion is however by no means universal, the generality of the natives do not pretend to assign any reason; and upon mature consideration Mr. Mariner is convinced that the malignancy of the gods is not a Tonga doctrine, except as far as regards the Hotooa Pow hereafter to be spoken of.

634 157 an hour he would become quite calm, and thank them for their interference. This admirable conduct is, no doubt, a beautiful trait in the character of a savage: and there is perhaps at this time many a man living at the Tonga islands who owes his present existence to this circumstance; whose head would undoubtedly have been cleaved long ago, but for this laudable artifice on the part of their chief. Nor was he on all occasions unable to master his temper without these secondary means; for if we observe him when he approached the shores of Vavaoo, to address the people with the view of persuading them to amicable measures, we shall see that all the scoffs and insults of his enemies did not in the least ruffle his temper, contrary to the expectation of his friends. But, however, his temper was no doubt very irritable, and with such a temper, and in such a state of society, it is not to be wondered at that he should occasionally be very harsh in his measures towards those who rebelled against him.

As to his moral character in general, not much can be said in his favour; he was suspected of harbouring revengeful designs against individuals for years, and would wreak his vengeance at a fit opportunity and kill them, as if from a momentary impulse of passion, when nobody was near to restrain him. His revenge in this way was sometimes wreaked upon chiefs, who, as he imagined, did not pay him so much tribute as their plantations could have afforded; at least such was supposed to be his motive, by those who knew him best.

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In describing the character of an extraordinary man, the picture is unfinished unless we furnish also a portraiture of his person, and of his personal manners; otherwise the imagination of the reader is sure to describe for itself a body, as a substratum on which all these mental qualifications are superinduced; and hence, incongruities are mingled together; the harmony of the picture weakened, if not quite destroyed; and an imperfect artificial construction is substituted for a perfect natural production. To give an example of the propriety, if not the necessity of this,—one might imagine from the character above given of Finow that he was of a very vindictive and cruel disposition, because we have given a few instances in confirmation of it: one might believe him therefore to have a countenance harsh and severe, a lowering, sullen brow, a haughty deportment, &c.—But nothing can be more remote from his true personal character;—and we are surprised to hear that his countenance was indeed energetic, yet mild; his brow prominent and bold, without sullenness; his de-

634 portment manly and erect, without pride. 157 *Without* the knowledge of these facts, we suppose him to have been cruel and malevolent; *with* the knowledge of them, we rather suppose him to have been severe; but that his severity, where it degenerated into harshness, was occasioned sometimes by hastiness of temper; sometimes by misconception of the crime which he punished; at other times, (and perhaps partly at all times,) by the habits of the society in which he lived, these habits occasioning him to view acts of real cruelty in a light less atrocious than we should.—If, on the other hand, we were to find that his countenance spoke the same harsh language that his actions appeared to speak, we might, without much fear of error, set him down as being often capable of malignant and atrocious actions*.

[142] Finow, the sole and arbitrary monarch of Vavaoo, and the Hapai islands, was in stature six feet two inches; in bulk and strength, stout and muscular; his head erect and bold; his shoulders broad and well made; his limbs well

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[661] * That which appears to be the worst of his actions, at least the most inhuman, viz. the assassination of his brother Toobo Nuha, was always an inexplicable puzzle to those who might be considered impartial; but they all seemed perfectly convinced that he would not have done it without some strong reason.

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set, strong, and graceful in action; his body not corpulent, but muscular; his hair of a jet black, and curly, yet agreeably so, without being woolly; his forehead remarkably high; his brow bold and intelligent, with a little austerity; his eye large and penetrating, yet joined to an expression of mildness; his nose aquiline and large; his lips well made and expressive; his teeth remarkably large, white, and regular; his lower jaw rather prominent; his cheek bones also rather prominent, compared with those of Europeans.—All his features were well developed, and declared a strong and energetic mind, with that sort of intellectual expression which belongs not so much to the sage as to the warlike chieftain: ambition sat high on his front, and guided all his energies: his deep and penetrating eye, and his firm and masculine deportment, while they inspired his adherents with confidence, struck awe to the minds of conspirators: his actions were, for the most part, steady and determined, and directed to some well studied purpose: his resolve was fate, and those who obeyed him with reluctance trembled, not without reason. He appeared, almost constantly, in deep thought, and did not often smile;—when he spoke, in matters of some importance, it was not without first holding up the balance in his mind, to weigh

634 well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon
157 his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such, that many of his enemies were afraid to listen to him, lest they should be led to view the subject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he always seemed to weigh well what he had to say, in subjects of minor importance he was very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation remarkably distinct. When he laughed, which was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as to be heard at an incredible distance; and with a very strange noise preceding it, as if he were hallooing after somebody a long way off, and the same kind of noise as he always made when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him. When in his house, however, giving orders about his domestic arrangements, his voice was uncommonly mild, and very low.

In regard to his sentiments of religion and
634 policy, they may be pretty well gathered from
771 sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect
793 to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say
781 whether he had any: it is certain that he dis-
776 believed most of the oracles delivered by the priests; for although he conceived that they were really inspired, when they appeared to be so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

of what they declared to be the sentiments of 634
the god was their own invention; and this particularly 771
in regard to what did not suit his own 793
sentiments. He never, however, declared his
opinion of these things in public; though he 787
expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, 776
and some of his intimate friends. He used
to say that the gods would always favour that
party in war, in which there were the greatest
chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that
the gods paid much attention in other respects
to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think
they could have any reason for doing so,—no
more than man could have any reason or interest
in attending to the affairs of the gods. He 634
believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably 775
to the notions entertained by his countrymen; 565
that is, that chiefs and mataboolés, having 774
souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according
to their rank in this world; but that the common
people, having no souls, or those only that
die with their bodies, are without any hope of
a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of 634
the Tonga islands,—a character not without a
considerable share of merit; in some respects
not unworthy imitation, and in every respect
highly interesting.—We have pourtrayed it at
some length, because such characters do not

often come under our observation; and it is proper that we should know what men are and may be in a savage state, if we wish to judge with tolerable accuracy of the human character in a civilized state, that, by comparison of the two together, we may arrive at a better knowledge of human nature in the abstract; a science of all sciences the most truly interesting; a science to which all others are but auxiliary; and without which all others would be but vain subtleties, fatiguing in the pursuit, and unsatisfactory in the possession.

We come now to view the island of Vavaoo under the dominion of a man of a very different turn of mind; of one whose intellect was of a very superior kind; and who, unlike his late father, was void of inordinate political ambition, and sought the happiness of his people, not the extension of his own power; an admirer of the arts, a philosopher among savages! But to shew better the contrast between the two, we need only mention, that, when the late king was not at his house, and it was necessary to seek for him, he was generally to be found at some public place, at some other chief's house, or at the *malái*; if the present king was wanted, he was to be found at the houses of carpenters, or canoe-builders, or else up in the country, inspecting some ground to be cultivated.

CHAPTER XIV.

The large fortress of Felletoa rebuilt—The late king appears to Foonagi (a female chief) in a dream—The charm of Tattao—Tonga-mana arrives from the Hapai islands respecting the Inachi—Certain political views arising from this circumstance—Permission granted to Toobó Tóa to come to Vavaoo to perform the usual ceremonies at Finow's grave—His conduct on this occasion—His astonishment at the warlike appearance of the new garrison—Arrival of *Lolohea oow Kefoo* from Hapai—Great storm of thunder and lightning; its effects on the minds of the people—Dreams of a number of women, predicting the death of Tooitonga—Illness of Tooitonga—The fingers of several children cut off as sacrifices to the gods—Several children strangled—Tooitonga's death—His burial—The king prepares himself to perform the usual ceremonies at his father's grave—Accident of Mr. Mariner's sneezing: his quarrel with the king on this account: his after conduct: their reconciliation. 000

Soon after the burial of the late king, Finow 712
Fiji proposed to his nephew (the present king) 721
to rebuild the large garrison at Felletoa, which 661
might serve as a strong and impenetrable fortification, in case of attack from a foreign enemy: besides which, he justly observed, that the garrison being rebuilt, it might serve as a place of residence for all the chiefs and great warriors; a measure in itself highly political, as it would

712 prevent the seditious from forming cabals and
[721] parties, which they might more easily do whilst
[661] living at a distance up the country, than they
could under the eyes of the king. But it was
not proposed that they should reside constantly
at the garrison, and, by that means, neglect
their plantations in the country, but that each
should have a house built with the usual con-
veniences for his wife and family, within the
fencing, to reside in at night, visiting his planta-
tions during the day; or to retire to wholly,
in case of invasion, civil commotion, and when-
[634] ever the king should order him to do so. This
proposal of Finow Fiji being assented to by the
king, the former requested permission to have
the sole management of laying out the plan,
and to see it carried into effect, which the latter
readily agreed to.

During the time the garrison was being re-
668 built, a circumstance happened which seemed
754 to indicate that a conspiracy was on the eve of
634 being formed, if not actually begun, and, as the
circumstance alluded to is connected with a
certain superstitious ceremony worthy of detail,
we shall be particular in the description of it,
and give the account of it exactly as it hap-
pened.

[831] Foonagi, the wife of Finow Fiji, and formerly
the wife of Tymomangnoongoo (a great warrior,

who was a party concerned in taking the Port 668
au Prince), was a woman of uncommon pene- 754
tration and discernment, and, on that account, 634
as well as from the circumstance of her being 837
the daughter of a chief who was a friend of the
late Finow's father, was highly regarded by the
late king, and who attached himself to her so
much, that it is supposed she lived with him as
his mistress during the time that she was ac-
tually the wife of her first husband. She was a
woman extremely religious, and universally re-
spected, on account of her accurate knowledge
with regard to all religious ceremonies, on which
subject she was frequently consulted by the
chiefs; and, upon political matters, Finow him-
self often consulted her, for in this, also, she
stood eminent in the esteem of every one. To 668
Finow she seemed as much attached as he to 754
her; and, after his death, mourned his loss with 634
a sorrow beyond the reach of comfort. She, 837
above all others, was most attentive in decorat- 765
ing with flowers planted by her own hand, and,
with the utmost solicitude, keeping in order the
fytoca where lay the body of her deceased friend.
For the space of six months this faithful mourner
scarcely ever slept but on his grave, watering it
with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the
night with her sighs. One day she went, with 668
the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga 754
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787

668 Toobó, the widow of the deceased chief, to
754 communicate what had happened to her at the
634 *fytoca* during several nights, and which caused
837 her the greatest anxiety. She related that she
787 had dreamed that the late How appeared to her,
and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked, why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons; for, he declared, that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that "the youth" should not be molested, nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that therefore he came to her with a warning voice, to prevent such disastrous con-
[765] sequences. The apparition next desired her to
place in order the pebble-stones upon his grave[*],
and pay every attention to the *fytoca;* he then disappeared. This troublesome dream she had
668 had three or four nights successively. Mo-oonga
754 Toobó, upon hearing this account, thought it
634 expedient to search the *fytoca*, to see if the
charm of *tattao*[*] had not been practised in re-

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[*] **It must here be recollected, that mourners were accustomed to smooth the graves of their departed friends, and cover them with black and white pebbles.**

[565] [†] **The charm of *tattao* consists in hiding upon the grave, or in any part of the *fytoca*, some portion of the wearing apparel of an inferior relation of the deceased, in consequence of which that relation will sicken and die; or, it may be bu-**

gard to the present Finow. They accordingly 668
went together to the grave, and, after accurate 754
examination, they discovered several bits of 634
gnatoo, and a wreath of flowers curiously formed in a peculiar manner, invented by one of the wives of the king, and which they recollected to have seen him wear round his neck a few days before.

This circumstance being communicated to 668
Finow, and coming to the ears of his chiefs, 754
and of the matabooles of the late How, produced 634
considerable consternation among many of 661
them. Finow, however, with that cool pre-
sence of mind which marked his character, [157]
issued orders to his chiefs to keep a vigilant look out, and, without discovering the least alarm, did every thing in the way of preparation
against the worst that might happen. He kept [727]
Mr. Mariner constantly near him, that he might not be accidentally separated from him in case of any public disturbance. On all occasions he endeavoured to make the conspirators (if any such there were) believe that he was perfectly off his guard, and in conscious security, and,

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ried in the house consecrated to the tutelar god of the family. [565]
This charm is not supposed to have the desired effect when the grave of a deceased person is made use of, unless the deceased was of superior rank to the person on whom the charm is practised.

668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way,
he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators
to proceed with less caution in their plan, under
the idea that he was off his guard. All this
precaution, however, and studied policy, were
unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became
evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying
the garrison with extra ditches went on with
dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed
to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tongamana,
634 a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi** was to be sent to Tooitonga,
seeing that Finow had declared that no communication
whatever was to be kept up with Hapai.
[292] As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as
a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several consecrated
634 houses, they came before Finow, and

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765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

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presented some to him, and then opened to him 628
the subject of their mission, stating that they 634
came with a request from Toobó Toa, that he 765
would grant him permission to present himself
at Vavaoo, to pay his last respects to the memory [276]
of the late king, by performing the usual ceremonies at his grave; hoping that, although Finow seemed determined to cut off all communication with the Hapai islands, that still he would not carry his decree to such an extent as to form an insuperable bar to the performance of a religious duty, for that he (Toobó Toa) wished to take his last farewell of a great chief, who, while living, he so highly esteemed, and whose memory he had now so much reason to respect. After Finow had heard the subject of [565]
the embassy, he said, in reply, that he should consult his chiefs and matabooles as to what measures he ought to take, and would return a definitive answer as soon as possible. Tongamana and his party then rose up and went down to the beach, where their canoe was, and passed the night in the canoe-house.

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Immediately after they had departed, Finow 628
held a council with his chiefs and matabooles, 634
the result of which was, that Toobó Toa should 651
be allowed to send the *inachi*, provided Tongamana's 765
canoe only was sent, and that this particular canoe should be allowed to come on any

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628 after occasion, upon condition that there were
634 no more men on board than should be sufficient
651 to constitute a crew; or, if he encroached upon
[765] this law, the canoe was never to be allowed to
come again: but the question regarding Toobó Toa's coming was reserved for a future opportunity. This resolution was made, partly from religious motives, and partly to shew the Hapai people that they entertained no fears of them; but chiefly, perhaps, to demonstrate to Toobó Toa, how well provided and well armed they were against all attacks from a foreign enemy.

The following morning, at cava, this resolution respecting the celebration of the *inachi*, on the part of the Hapai people, was communicated to Tonga-mana, upon which he departed immediately, on his return to the Hapai islands. As soon as Toobó Toa heard the permission granted by Finow, he ordered the tributes from the different islands (intended for the *inachi*) to be collected together, and put on board
[643] Tonga-mana's canoe. At the same time, the
inhabitants of Tofooa, an island belonging to Tooitonga, eager to send their tribute for the *inachi*, also dispatched a canoe to accompany that of Toobó Toa; and although this was contrary to Finow's strict injunction (that only Tonga-mana's canoe should come on this expedition), still they flattered themselves that,

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at it was a canoe from Tooitonga's own island, 628 it would be overlooked. But in this they were 634 mistaken, for no sooner did the people of Va- 651 vaoo (so jealous were they of any apparent en- 643 croachment on their liberties) perceive that two canoes, instead of one, were coming to their shores, than they raised a great clamour, contending that the Hapai people had a mind to be treacherous; that, under the mask of religion, they were coming as spies; and, making these complaints to Finow, they called loudly for orders against such a proceeding, and insisted that one of the canoes should be sent back before the other should be allowed to land.

Finow, seeing the conduct of the Hapai people, and hearing the complaints of his own, immediately gave orders that Tooitonga's canoe should be instantly sent away, else neither of them should be allowed to land. Perceiving, however, afterwards, that Tooitonga's canoe was laden with part of the tribute, and as it would have been sacrilegious to have sent back any portion of what was intended for the *inachi*, he ordered it to be landed, and the canoe, with all its men, who, by the by, were choice warriors, to be sent back immediately, without being allowed to set foot on shore. On this occasion, Finow, reflecting how easy it would be for any of the Vavaoo people who chose to

486 leave the island on this occasion, and that Tooi-
628 tonga's canoe would readily receive them, be-
634 cause the law which he had previously made
651 extended not to this canoe, but only (according
643 to the manner in which it was expressed), to
that of Tonga-mana; reflecting on this, and seeing no way to prevent the evil, he openly proclaimed to the people, that if any wished to go and reside at Hapai, they had the opportunity of going in Tooitonga's canoe, but that they would not be permitted to return to Vavaoo. No one, however, thought proper to leave the island.

486 After the ceremony of *inachi*, the canoe of
628 Tonga-mana was sent away with permission to
634 bring Toobó Tóa, and any of his chiefs that
765 thought proper to come, even although they
filled more than one canoe, provided they only staid one day at Vavaoo, just to perform the ceremonies at the grave of the late How. For the king began now to consider that it would be bad policy to impose too many restrictions on the admission of the Hapai people, as it would indicate want of strength, and a certain degree of apprehension; and on the other hand, as the fortress was very strong, and able to resist almost any adverse force, he had not so much occasion to be under alarm.

[103] In the mean time Finow dispatched several

small canoes to the outer islands of Hafooloo 486
How*, to watch the arrival of Toobo Toa, and 628
to return with immediate notice of this event 634
to Vavaoo, which they did as soon as they saw 765
three canoes which hove in sight. The notice [103]
being given to Finow, he sent back several of
his own canoes to meet those of Toobó Toa,
with orders that the Hapai canoes should not
be allowed to advance farther than the neighbouring
islands, but that they should bring
Toobó Toa and his party along with them up
the creek to Felletoa, in the Vavaoo canoes.
This was accordingly done, and Toobo Toa,
and about sixty of his warriors, were landed
near the fortress. They were all dressed in 634
mats; their heads were shaven, and the leaves 765
of the *ifi* tree were round their necks, according [292]
to the custom at burials. They were followed [301]
by several boys bearing a few spears, arrows, [302]
and clubs. They proceeded immediately
to the grave of the late How, and after having [304]
sat before it a little time, with their heads
bowed down, Toobo Toa arose, and taking a
sharp club from one of the boys, inflicted several
very severe wounds on his own head, calling
out to the deceased to witness this proof of his
love and fidelity, and declaring aloud that his

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* The name given to Vavaoo and all its surrounding little islands.

634 sentiments towards his son were the same as
those he formerly entertained towards *him*, notwithstanding
765 that his death had occasioned
304 this seeming breach between himself and his
son; and protesting how much he wished a perfect
and friendly understanding with the Vavaoo
people, that he might occasionally have
the opportunity of preparing the cava for young
Finow; and by such and other assiduities prove
his respect and loyalty towards his family: but
as he supposed that the chiefs of Bolotoo had
decreed otherwise, he should be contented to
live at the Hapai islands, and evince his remembrance
of the deceased, by sending, in
Tonga-mana's canoe, the produce of his own
islands as presents to his son. This speech
was followed by those of several of his party,
all much in the same sentiment, and then,
after bruising their heads, running spears
and arrows through their cheeks, thighs, and
breasts, they left the grave to attend to the
634 cava of Finow. In the evening Finow, Toobó
628 Toa, and Finow Fiji, had a short conversation
651 together, when Toobó Toa expressed his wish
to be tributary to Vavaoo, notwithstanding it
might still be thought politic, as long as any of
Toobo Nuha's near relations were living, to
keep him and his people at a distance, acknowledging
that such a separation was the only

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way of preserving peace between the two 634
powers. He stated, moreover, that with the 628
view of keeping his own people from meditat- 651
ing either conspiracies against himself or wars
against Vavaoo, (which they would be sure to 634
do if they remained long idle), he should turn 628
his attention to the assistance of the garrison of Hihifo at Tonga, which was upon friendly terms with him, but which he lately heard was very weak, and in great danger of being destroyed by the enemy. To the succour of his friends, therefore, he meant to proceed to Tonga with a strong army as soon as possible.
To Toobo Toa's proposal of still sending a tri- 634
bute, Finow objected for two reasons, first, be- 628
cause Vavaoo itself yielded quite enough for 651
the maintenance of his people, and secondly, because any tribute received from Toobo Toa might be construed by the people into an act of friendship and alliance, which ill suited with the sentiments they entertained towards the man who had formerly killed their beloved chief Toobo Nuha. As to the annual tribute for the *inachi*, it could not be dispensed with, because it was a religious act, and was necessary to be performed to ensure the favour of the gods, and to prevent any calamities which
might otherwise be inflicted on them. Toobo 634
Toa was obliged to accede to all that Finow 628

634 628 had so reasonably said upon the subject; his pride, however (as it was believed) was much hurt at feeling the necessity of coinciding in the wishes of so young and inexperienced a chief. Whilst Toobo Toa was speaking, the tears ran down his cheeks, influenced probably by the feelings of his heart, for he had a great respect for the late How, a real friendship for him, and felt a sincere regret for his loss. The same evening he took his leave of Finow, by performing the ceremony of *moe-moe**, and repaired

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634 628 576 751 [261] * A kind of salute paid to the greatest chief present, and consists in bowing the head, (whilst sitting cross-legged before him) so that the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, (who sits in like manner) and then touching the sole of the same foot, (which may be either the right or the left) first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. The ceremony is also performed by persons who may have accidentally touched any part of a superior chief's person, or any thing whatever belonging to him; and unless this ceremony is performed after such contact, they cannot eat without danger (as they suppose) of swelling up and dying. [164] [753] They are very subject to indurations of the liver, and certain forms of scrofula hereafter to be spoken of, and which, as they conceive, frequently happens from a neglect of this ceremony, after touching any thing belonging to a superior chief. They most frequently, however, perform it, without knowing themselves to have occasion for it, merely as a matter of caution. And if a man has eaten any thing without performing this ceremony when he had occasion for it, the chief applies the sole of his foot also to the man's belly, as a greater security against such swellings. Moe-moe means literally to touch or press. (See note, p. 141.)

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with his men to the canoes, in which the following morning he departed for Hapai. 634
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Toobo Toa was greatly pleased with the appearance of the garrison, declaring that he had 712 never seen any thing so warlike and formidable, not even at the Fiji islands, where he had lived several years. Finow had indeed given the strictest orders to make every thing appear in as good a state as possible, producing a tasteful display of clubs, spears, and arrows, arranged against the houses, with wreaths of flowers and certain warlike decorations. Upon the whole, when the size and strength of the place, with its situation, was taken into consideration, it was, perhaps, by far the most formidable fortification that had ever been established in any of those clusters of islands, in the midst of the southern ocean.

About a month after the departure of Toobó 628 Toa, during which time nothing particular occurred, 669 a fisherman from one of the neighbouring islands brought word that a small canoe had been seen coming in a direction from Hapai. In a short time the canoe itself arrived, bringing one of Finow's principal warriors, Lolo Hea Cow Keifoo, and his two brothers, young lads, who had been at the Hapai islands in consequence of the illness of their father, who had resided there, but was since

628 669 dead. They brought intelligence that Toobó Toa had ordered all the canoes to be got ready as soon as possible, and put in a state for sea; and all his fighting men to hold themselves in 669 readiness to depart at a moment's notice. In consequence of this order, Lolo Hea suspected, and indeed it was universally believed, that it was Toobó Toa's intention to make a descent upon the island of Vavaoo: hence he took the first opportunity to make his escape with his two brothers; for had he stayed to have come with the invading army, he could not in honour have deserted it, and would thus have been obliged to fight against his own countrymen*. Finow, on hearing this intelligence, was not backward in making the most judicious preparations to receive his enemy, and which he did, although he had no idea but that his intention was to land his men at Tonga, with a view to assist the garrison before spoken of; but still he held himself well prepared, according to the Tonga maxim, that is *never to suspect any thing without immediately making preparations for the worst.*

[713] [727] To the rest of the preparations Mr. Mariner

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[702] * Such is the opinion of the Tonga islanders, that if a man be at any foreign island which is about to wage war with his own, he holds himself obliged to side with the people among whom he is (see p. 179. note.)

got ready a carronade, which had hitherto not 669
been used, on account of its having been 713
spiked. Having nothing wherewith to drill 727
the touch-hole, he collected together a vast
quantity of wood, and made a large fire, in the
midst of which was the gun, of which, when
hot, he readily cleared the touch-hole: it was
then mounted upon a carriage. Thus Finow
had three guns, six barrels of powder, and
plenty of shot, for almost all the shot which
had been fired in the former attacks upon the
garrison were again found and collected. Finow
also sent a canoe to the islands of Togoo,
to the N. W. of Vavaoo, to collect a cargo of
round black pebbles, which are found there in
abundance, to serve as shot. With all this ammunition,
Finow was far superior to Toobó
Toa, who had only two guns, and was withal
very short both of powder and shot. All these 628
preparations, however, were never required, for, 669
shortly after, Tonga Mana's canoe arrived,
bringing intelligence that Toobo Toa had proceeded
with his army to the assistance of the
garrison before spoken of in the island of
Tonga.

About this time there happened a very 821
heavy storm of thunder and lightning, which is
always considered ominous by the natives, and
esteemed the harbinger of some great event,

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821 such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore 787 produced, as it generally does, considerable [821] anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. 721 In this state of the public mind, parties were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence of any canoe that might appear. 643 In the course of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga 763 decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. 643 Accordingly every day one 763 or other of his young relations had a little 782 finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

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gods for the sins of the sick man[*]. These sacrifices, however, were found of no avail;— 643 763
greater, therefore, were soon had recourse to: 782
and accordingly three or four children were 755
strangled, at different times, in the manner [304]
which has already been related; and invocations were made to the deities at *fytocas*, consecrated houses, and in the persons of the priests, but still without effect, for the gods were deaf to their entreaties; and the illness of the sacred chief grew every day more alarming. As a last resource, therefore, to excite the compassion of the deities, they carried the emaciated person of Tooitonga to the place where his provisions were accustomed to be cooked[†]; 643 763 782

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[*] Nothing is more common in these islands than the sacrifice of a little finger on occasion of the illness of a superior relation: insomuch, that there is scarcely a grown-up person (unless a very great chief, who can have but few superior relations) but who has lost the little finger of both hands. Nor is there ever any dispute between two persons with a view to get exempt from this ceremony; on the contrary, Mr. Mariner has witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation: the pain indeed is but very trifling, from the mode, probably, in which it is performed, which will be fully described in another place.

[†] It must be recollected that this is an act of great humility, that the high and sacred chief of Tonga should resort to the place where his victuals are cooked. See the account of the death of Finow, p. 368.

643 —in the same manner as Finow was carried :—
763 but notwithstanding all this, death overtook
782 him in the course of eight days, after six weeks
illness.

634 About a month or six weeks after the funeral
ceremonies were finished, (which will be described
765 under the head of Religious Ceremonies,
in the second volume,) Finow, who had
not broken his head (as they call it) at the
grave of his father, because perhaps on a public
occasion it would have looked in him like an
ostentatious display of what might have been
thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform
this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied
only by a few of his warriors, to
634 whom he now signified his intention. Accordingly
765 one morning he and his men began to
727 prepare themselves for this affair, when unfortunately
an accident happened, which to us
827 Europeans (in the present times) would not
777 have attracted the slightest attention; but, in
the estimation of these people, was a matter
pregnant with the most important and serious
consequences :—for at this time Mr. Mariner,
on entering the house, happened to sneeze!!
Immediately every one present threw down his
club, for who would proceed on so important
an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

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* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing 634
them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with 765
the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"— 727
and, rising from the ground, he demanded 827
why he came there?—to which he answered, 777
"Your father would not have asked me that "question; and I am surprised that you are "so much unlike him, as to believe in such superstitious nonsense." This was too much for him to bear, particularly before so many of his men; and snatching up a club that lay near him, he would have instantly despatched him, if some of the men present had not pushed Mr. Mariner out of the house, while the rest held Finow. Upon this the former wished him good bye*—said that if he wanted him he might send for him, adding, that he did not before know that his presence was so disagreeable. Several men then came out of the house, and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before his passion had time to cool, should pursue him, and effect some desperate revenge: he retired, therefore, to a house near the grave.
Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his 609
men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneezing, resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and 304

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who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

[*] The expression answering to this in the Tonga language 192
is *bea ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

634 had different gods, his sneezing was not to be
765 considered of any consequence: they then proceeded
727 to the grave to perform the ceremony
of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men,
827 inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their
777 heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular,
[609] not contented with the usual instruments,
[304] made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck
against his skull with such vehemence and goodwill,
that he staggered as he went home with
loss of blood. These scenes need not be further
described; we have already had enough of
them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded
634 to his plantation, resolving to remain
727 there, and see how long Finow would be contented
without his company. This conduct,
according to the manners and customs of Europeans,
634 appears extremely haughty, arrogant,
727 and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this
576 instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in
putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr.
Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion
of an accident which might so easily have happened,
and might have been so difficult to avoid,
yet the latter being so much the inferior, we
might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon
for the offence so unintentionally committed:
but this plan would be far from pro-

ducing a good effect in the Tonga islands: on 634
the contrary, he would have been thought a 727
mean-spirited fellow, ever willing to sink him- 576
self below the dignity of a man, to purchase the pardon and friendship of a superior. And had he acted in this way, the king would most undoubtedly have thought meanly of him, and never again have made him a *confidential* friend, which always implies something of an equality.

In the evening (a few hours after his arrival 634
at his plantation) a girl came with a message 727
from his adopted mother, assuring him that he 576
was perfectly safe, Finow having expressed his extreme sorrow for his own conduct: she advised him, however, not to return to the king till after several invitations, nor even till he came in person to request a renewal of his friendship; for although it was dangerous in Tonga to be *too* haughty,—on the other hand, too much submission would be as bad (upon the principle above alluded to): besides, as she was shortly going to live at the Hapai islands along with her father, she wished beforehand to see Mr. Mariner safe against all future designs and insults from inferior chiefs, by thus counselling him to act with becoming dignity towards even the king himself, whose friendship and sentiments towards Mr. Mariner she well knew. He accordingly took her advice, and remained at the

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634 727 576 plantation ten days, notwithstanding repeated messages from Finow, and entreaties to return; and at last he so intimidated the messengers, by threatening to shoot them if they appeared again with that errand, that Finow at length resolved to fetch him himself; and accordingly one morning entered his house, and having awakened him, saluted him in the kindest and most affectionate manner, begged his pardon for his too hasty conduct, and wept abundantly. After this period they were inseparable friends.

634 727 827 777 During this reconciliation, Finow explained to Mr. Mariner the cause of his unseasonable rage agaist him for sneezing: it was not that he had any superstitious idea of it as a bad omen, but that it might have this effect upon the minds of his men, and thus put off his intended ceremony.

END OF VOL. I.

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[For information in inter-island feuding see Categories 669, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, and 728.]

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[For information on the native theory of the disease that caused the deaths of Finau and his daughter, see Category 763, pp. 354-359.]

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[For information on island governors, see Category 634.]

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[For data on the voyage of the Port au Prince from England to the Tonga Islands, see Category 116, pp. 1-38.]

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[For additional information on chiefs, see Category 565.]

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177, 114, 123, 609

[For information on the activities, treatment and influence of Mariner on Tonga culture, see Category 727.]

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[For additional information on chiefs, see Categories 622 and 634.]